NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXVIII.

JANUARY, 1900.

THE BRITISH ARMY.

RÉSUMÉ OF A CONVERSATION WITH FIELD-MARSHAL H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K. G., UPON THE TRANSVAAL WAR AND CONSIDERATIONS ARISING THEREFROM.

PREFATORY NOTE BY MR. G. LEVESON GOWER, FORMERLY COMPTROLLER OF HER MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD.

The following résumé embodies the opinions of H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge, as the writer understood him to express them in a recent conversation.

His Royal Highness, who was born in the year 1819, and is of the same age as Her Majesty the Queen, has not allowed the cessation of his tenure of the post of Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces to lessen his interest in all that pertains to the Army.

This, as his speeches, no less than this conversation, testify, is as strong and as keen as ever.

At his advanced age, and at a time of life when one who had so long occupied so arduous and responsible a position might reasonably lay claim to repose, His Royal Highness shows no diminution of zeal or of concern for the well-being of the forces of which he so long held the supreme command.

G. LEVESON GOWER.

ONE of the most striking features of the present situation is the steadiness and freedom from panic shown, not only, as is natural,

Copyright, 1899, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in military circles, but by the British public at large. This has been equally noticeable upon previous occasions when partial and preliminary reverses had occurred in the initial stages of a campaign.

Military students, of course, are aware that to meet with unchequered success in a contest with a brave and well-armed enemy is a piece of good fortune too good to be relied upon, for, in spite of the skill of commanders and the valor of troops, isolated checks and reverses are as probable in a military campaign as in the conduct of complicated business transactions. Especially must this be the case where troops are dependent upon a long line of communication in the presence of forces numerically their superior, and where relatively small bodies of men are operating over a field of vast extent and are necessarily occasionally isolated from each other.

This steadiness and freedom from panic upon the receipt of adverse news is akin to the spirit of the British troops of whom the French said in the Peninsular War, that they never understood when they were beaten. It is a gratifying fact that the British public are unwilling, in the event of a reverse, either to judge commanders hastily and without being in full possession of the facts of the case, or to lose heart because of some temporary and by no means irreparable check to our arms.

The same national characteristic of keeping a cool head in difficult and sometimes trying circumstances appeared during the long and anxious vicissitudes of the Peninsular campaign; although this was less remarkable then than now, inasmuch as there was then no telegraph to flash imperfect and exaggerated accounts of events before they had even had time to assume some definite and consistent shape. There were then no "special editions" transforming some minor skirmish into a "crushing defeat" or an "overwhelming victory," and seeking by every artifice to seize the attention of the passer-by. Nor at the clubs could men cluster, as they do now, round the tape as it momentarily records the successive phases of an engagement.

That the national nerves should be strong enough to stand such a constant series of electric shocks is a matter for congratulation. What was true of the calmness of the nation and of the army during the Peninsular War was also true at the time of the Crimea, in spite of the invention of the telegraph; and it remains

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

true now, notwithstanding the subsequent abnormal growth of a popular sensational and enterprising press.

Not but that the great services rendered to the country by the press in time of war must be fully admitted. Imperfect accounts are better than vague rumors; and sensational exaggeration is a less evil than paralyzing uncertainty and total absence of news. Now, at any rate, the friends and relatives of our gallant soldiers are not, as in the past, left for weeks and months without news of their whereabouts or their safety; and they have, at least, the melancholy satisfaction of knowing that in the event of those dear to them being killed or wounded they will be spared the strain of prolonged and agonizing incertitude.

Incidentally, of course, the testimony of able and trained war correspondents in the field enables a larger number of military students to follow the course and to profit by the lessons of the war.

This was notably the case in the American-Spanish War, than which no war has ever had cast upon it so fierce and full a light of contemporary description and criticism.

Americans were happily spared the distress of serious or even of partial reverses; but the recollection of how manfully they bore the news of those terribly anxious days before their final triumph at Santiago, shows that there is a kinship between America and Great Britain, not only of origin and of language, but of temperament and of traditions of quiet endurance and persistency.

It is a delicate matter to express an opinion not only, as is of course natural, upon the course of events and upon the strategy of the present campaign, but also upon the manner in which the short-service system, with its reservists, who in time of war can be called upon to rejoin the colors, had worked when subjected to the first really significant practical test upon a large scale which it has yet had to undergo.

The time has not yet arrived to express or even to form a judgment as to how this system works in time of war, and as to how it compares for effectiveness with the previous long-service system, with its smaller number of men, but longer and more continuous service.

Every carefully conceived and applied scheme of reform which, on mature consideration, seems likely to add to the strength and efficiency of the army should, of course, be welcomed and sup-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ported. But, without going into particulars, all changes are not reforms, and it is possible to have changes for the worse as well as changes for the better.

The practice of detailing separate companies of different regiments on special service, as was done in 1881 at Majuba with such disastrous results, is certainly undesirable. Occasionally this cannot be helped; but it is a practice which should be avoided as much as possible; and regiments should act, wherever practicable, as separate and undivided units under the command of their own officers. The same rule holds good as to the attaching of officers to other corps and regiments than their own. Sometimes this is inevitable, as the loss of officers in regiments which have been hotly engaged has to be made good from outside; but, generally speaking, it is a system to be deprecated as tending to weaken the intimate personal relationship between officers and their men, which is an invaluable factor in the serviceableness and cohesion of a regiment.

This solidarity of feeling in a regiment, which is at once the cause and the effect of long tradition and of a highly developed and carefully fostered *esprit de corps,* is of the utmost value to an army. It enhances and accentuates the general spirit of military devotion and discipline, and, while in no wise lessening the soldier's feeling that he is part and parcel of a vast organism, binds him by a sentiment of personal attachment to his regimental chiefs and regimental colors, and leads him jealously to guard the honor and to promote the glory of his own regiment, as something with which his own personal honor and reputation are indissolubly linked.

Hence, in large part, arises that eager emulation between different regiments upon the field of battle; that anxiety that their own regiment should be allotted the most dangerous position and the hardest task. Even regimental nicknames and *sobriquets* have, by the force of association, a curious power of evoking the soldier's affectionate devotion to the old corps to which he belongs and his attachment to the comrades who have served or who are serving with him.

Any changes tending to weaken or endanger this regimental *esprit de corps* should be regarded with disfavor.

Very useful lessons may be learnt from the present war as to the advantages of military ballooning; as to the effects of lyddite;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as to the adaptability to military purposes of Signor Marconi's wireless telegraphy; and, lastly, as to the way in which armored trains should be handled for reconnoissances, and as to the extent and limitations of their utility.

There is certainly urgent need, which has long since made itself felt, but which the present war has emphasized, of spending money judiciously, but much more liberally than at present, upon the army.

The British nation, especially within the last ten years, has recognized the paramount duty of providing, without stint or demur, whatever is requisite for the efficient service of the navy; both political parties are of one mind upon this policy, and act in harmony with each other in their determination to make the nation as strong as possible at sea; and this policy is heartily concurred in by the country.

It may fairly be contended that the army should be treated in the same liberal and far-seeing spirit as the navy, and that provision for its efficiency should be a matter equally outside of party politics and equally unaffected by party differences. Such a policy with respect to the army should, indeed, be looked upon as a question of national insurance.

It must be recognized that the British army can never and need never be kept in the same position of numerical and effective superiority with respect to other armies which it is necessary the British navy should hold with respect to the navies of the Continent. But, at the same time, a larger expenditure than is now allotted to the army is necessary to place it in a condition of absolute efficiency, and while it must always be limited as far as numbers go, it should be made as powerful and efficient a force of its size as money can make it; a state of affairs which is very far from being realized at present.

Of one thing one is happy to be able to speak with confidence, namely, that any changes of form or lapse of time have not impaired the zeal and devotion to duty, the strict discipline, the splendid gallantry, and the spirit of cheerful self-sacrifice of men and officers of all ranks and of all arms in Her Majesty's forces.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ORIGIN, DURATION AND OUTCOME OF THE WAR.

BY DR. W. J. LEYDS, EUROPEAN AGENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

[The official duties of Dr. Leyds are so exacting that he was obliged to decline the request of the Editor for a comprehensive article. He consented, however, to dictate answers to such questions as he might consider pertinent. These questions and answers follow.—EDITOR N. A. R.]

Q. How long do you think the war will last?

A. That depends upon many circumstances we cannot yet foresee. It may, however, be considered certain that should the real war be unsuccessful from the Boer point of view, guerilla warfare would ensue, which would last extremely long.

Q. Are the finances of the Republic in such a state as to permit of its carrying on war for a long time?

A. That again depends on what you mean by "a long" time. But I can vouch for the fact that the financial resources of the Republic are quite sufficient, in view of our (the Boer) estimation of the probable duration of the war.

Q. Will the negro natives of South Africa probably be drawn into the conflict before its end?

A. I will answer for the fact that the Boers will never provide the natives with arms to fight the English. The English, however, have armed the natives both at Mafeking and in Rhodesia, and the Republic has felt itself compelled to publicly protest against such a proceeding, which it deems a violation of international law.

Q. What truth is there in the statement that Boers are using the dumdum bullets?

A. The Boers do not manufacture dumdum bullets. If it has occurred that an isolated soldier has employed such murderous projectiles, it is probably because he has employed the rifle and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ammunition of some English trooper killed on the battle-field, which would only prove that such bullets are used by the British Army. We have no doubt that they are, and consider this as a special sign of bad faith, considering that, when the outbreak of hostilities occurred, the British Government solemnly pledged itself not to allow dumdum bullets to be used.

Q. Have the Boer generals had a military education?

A. Excepting in the case of a few artillery officers, who have received their military education in Europe, the Boer generals have no military education, in the European sense of such a word. But they thoroughly know the country they are fighting in, and how to fight on such ground. They are full of experience—an experience they owe to Great Britain, through the struggles she has forced upon them.

Q. If the Boers are successful will they be satisfied with their present boundaries?

A. This is a question I prefer not answering.

Q. If the English are victorious, what will they do?

A. I have nothing to guide me on this point, except what every one knows and reads in the English papers, which are not in agreement as to what England would do in such a case.

Q. How will the appointment of Secretary Hay's son be received at Pretoria?

A. All foreign consuls have, in every circumstance, been received with great courtesy in the Transvaal, and every regard is paid to them. Such will certainly be the case with Mr. Hay's son; but I have no special *data* as to the meaning of his appointment.

Q. How do the Uitlanders feel about the war? Do they feel that it was undertaken really in their behalf, or that England has used them merely as a pretext?

A. That depends upon the character of the Uitlanders themselves. A great many are fighting in our ranks. Even among those who have withdrawn, those who are sincere confess that they are only the pretext of the war. We know this for an actual fact, from a letter emanating from Mr. Philipps, one of the principal leaders of the Uitlanders. That letter was seized by us on the occasion of the Jameson raid.

Mr. Philipps wrote on June 10th, 1894:

"I don't want to meddle in politics, and as to the franchise, I do not think many people worry about it."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And further:

"I have no desire for political rights, and believe as a whole that the community is not ambitious in this respect."

Q. Did the Boers think that any European country would intervene?

A. No.

Q. Do you think any such intervention likely at present?

A. It is impossible for me to answer such a question.

Q. Is it true that many Boer women have also taken up arms?

A. It is probable. But I have no precise information on the point.

Q. How could the war have been avoided?

A. England had acted in such a manner as to render it absolutely unavoidable. The Boers did to avoid it everything that it was humanly possible to do.

Q. Is it not likely that there will be a reaction in England against the war?

A. It appears likely to me. I hope so, not only in the interest of the South African Republics, but also in the interest of Great Britain herself.

Q. Can nothing be done to get news about the war from Boer sources?

A. Quite impossible by cable; and only with great difficulty by mail.

Q. What will probably be the rôle of the Afrikanders in the contest?

A. I think that the English newspapers are answering this question.

Q. Is it true that there was special legislation against the Uitlanders? If so, what was its nature?

A. There was no special legislation against the Uitlanders. There was special legislation regarding them in the matter of public education, and that was all in their favor.

In a general way, we made no difference between a foreigner and a burgher, save, of course, as regards the franchise. And every impartial and fair mind will understand that it was impossible for the South African Republic to grant political rights to foreigners. Why, the franchise in the Transvaal was denied to friendly foreigners of our own race—to the citizens of the Orange Free State. Why should we have granted it to Englishmen?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENGLAND AND THE TRANSVAAL.

BY THE RT. HON. THE EARL GREY.

In Burke's immortal speech on "Conciliation with America" (1775), there occurs a famous passage descriptive of the phenomenal growth of that country during the life of the first Lord Bathurst, then in the last year of his prolonged and distinguished career. The orator imagines the angel of Lord Bathurst to have appeared to him in 1704, when he was twenty years of age, and, drawing aside the curtain which concealed the rising glories of Great Britain, to have pointed out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interests—a small seminal principle rather than a formed body—and to have addressed him thus:

"Young man, there is America, which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men and uncouth manners, yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world; whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life!"

In much the same spirit Sir Bartle Frere, when Governor-General of the British possessions in South Africa, prophesied to the present writer, in a letter from Kimberley, dated 1880, that if the various States of South Africa had a fair chance given to them, and received the uninterrupted advantage of just and equal government, he would witness before he died, if he reached the allotted age of man, a development which would enable South Africa, from the River Zambesi to the Cape of Good Hope, to rival Australia and the United States of America as a home for educated Englishmen.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The development which has taken place in South Africa during the past twenty years has already done much to justify Sir Bartle Frere's forecast. If its progress has fallen far short of what it ought to have been—and would have been, had Sir Bartle Frere's postulate of fair treatment and good government been fulfilled—the explanation is to be found in the fact that over a large area, embracing gold-fields of phenomenal and surpassing richness, those principles of liberty and equal freedom which were imported into the United States in the "Mayflower," and which are the tap-root of its greatness, have been deliberately and persistently violated by the oligarchy ruling the Transvaal, who, in their selfish determination to administer the affairs of State for their own exclusive benefit, have resolutely withheld from the inhabitants, who supply nine-tenths of the public revenues, those common rights of citizenship which are the inseparable attributes of free men in every portion of the world.

A short statement of the events in South Africa which have preceded and culminated in the unfortunate war between Boer and Briton is almost indispensable to a correct understanding of the present situation.

Up to the beginning of the present century the number of European settlers in the Dutch colony of the Cape was insignificant. During the Napoleonic wars, at a time when Holland was a province of France, the colony was captured by British arms; and so well pleased were the Cape Dutchmen with the change of government, British rule being found by them to be less onerous and harassing than that of their own people, that, when the peace of 1814 was concluded, the colony became, with the general consent of its white inhabitants, a permanent possession of Great Britain.

For twenty years, 1814-34, the Dutch Boers remained fairly contented with British rule; but, even during this early period, an antagonism between the radically opposed ideals of the British and Dutch settlers began to assert itself, which resulted in the growing irritation and estrangement of the Dutch population.

It was a conviction, amounting almost to a religious belief, among the Cape Dutch that the black races had been created by God to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for them, and that they were justified by the direct teaching and authority of the Old Testament in reducing these races to submission by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sternest methods. They had lived apart from the wave of humanitarianism which had swept over Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. They scarcely regarded a black man as a man at all, and were incapable of even conceiving any idea of equality of civil rights as between black and white.

They consequently were unable to comprehend the standpoint from which the British authorities regarded the native question.

The stern measures taken by the Government from time to time in the interests of the black population; the charges of ill-treatment of natives brought against the Boers by British missionaries; the enactment of laws restraining their authority over slaves; the recognition by the Government of the right of the Hottentots and other free colored people to stand on an equal footing with whites, as regards private civil rights—all helped to provoke the strongest resentment; and when the Negro Emancipation Act was passed in 1834, and the Boer farmers found themselves deprived of the slave labor on which they depended for the cultivation of their land, without receiving, unfortunately, any adequate compensation, then, outraged, indignant and smarting under a sense of intolerable injustice, they resolved to trek into the wilderness, wishing to separate themselves as far as possible from the vexations inseparable from British principles of administration. Thus was born the Afrikander sentiment, which, stimulated and fostered by the antagonism between two irreconcilable ideals, has now grown to such formidable dimensions that a resort to arms has been found necessary to prevent it from becoming the dominating and paramount influence in the politics of South Africa. It is impossible for any Englishman to sympathize with a movement which had its origin in the desire of the Boers to be allowed to "wallop their own niggers." But it is also impossible to read the story of the Great Trek of 1836, in which young Paul Krüger, the present President of the Transvaal Republic, walked behind his father's wagon, and of the terrible struggle, the privations and the mortality which the seceding Boers encountered, without feeling great admiration for their sturdy spirit and for the steadfast faith with which they clung to their Old Testament ideals, as they sought their Promised Land in the wilderness of Central South Africa.

After undergoing ordeals which confirmed the characteristics,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and also the prejudices, of their race, the Boers succeeded in expelling the natives from the vast territories which lay between the Orange and Limpopo Rivers. But in the case of the Boers, as in that of the Mormons of Utah, the principles of civilized administration negatived the idea that a community which had once been incorporated with the British Commonwealth could secede from its allegiance and adopt for itself a position of independence. When, therefore, the Boers endeavored to set up for themselves a separate State in that part of Africa which is now known as the Orange Free State and Natal, British troops were sent against them in 1848 to reduce them to submission. The operations were successful and British sovereignty over the Boers was re-established. Subsequently, the difficulty of administering territories so far removed from the chief British centres of South Africa, with no facilities for rapid communication, made itself apparent, with the result that, in 1852, a Convention was concluded at Sand River with the Boers, by which the British Government guaranteed to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, while the Boers pledged themselves in return that slavery should not be permitted or practised. This condition, as there was no means of enforcing it, proved absolutely useless; its only effect was to cause the word "apprentice" to be used instead of "slave."

"Children were kidnapped, trained to work in the fields, had their price, and were as little protected by the law as any other live stock on the farm. The 'apprenticeship' never came to an end. Wagon-loads of slaves, 'black-ivory' as they were called, passed through the country, and were put up to auction or were exchanged sometimes for money, and sometimes for a horse, or for a cow and a big pot." *

After a few years of self-government—years marked by a continual and unblushing disregard of the conditions which had been attached to its grant—the Transvaal Republic fell into a hopeless condition of lawlessness and insolvency. The Boers were unable to supply out of their own ranks men capable of carrying on the work of the Government over so vast a territory as the Transvaal; and to such an extent was this the case that Sir Bartle Frere was informed that, when the Republic collapsed in 1877, there was not a single man in high office who was a genuine Boer of the Transvaal.

* Martineau's "Life of Sir Bartle Frere." Vol. 2, p. 174.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Educated foreigners were, it is true, imported by President Burgers from Holland, but they failed to win the confidence of the Transvaal Boers. The antagonism which existed between the Hollander officials and the Boer farmers resulted in the complete paralysis of Government. The country was in a state bordering on anarchy and chaos. Taxes were refused; public contracts were broken, and salaries were unpaid. The gaols were thrown open, for there was no money to maintain the prisoners. For the same reason the interest due on the State debt could not be paid. Public credit was non-existent. A powerful native chief, Secocoeni, who had already defeated the Boers, was threatening invasion from the mountains on the northeast of their territory; and on their southeastern frontier, Cetywayo, with a highly disciplined army of 30,000 to 40,000 Zulus, hung like a permanent black cloud on their horizon, threatening to cover at any moment their entire sky with darkness. With this paralysis of Government within, and exposure to annihilation from without, the resources of the country were represented by a sum of less than four dollars in the Treasury! It was at this crisis that the British Government, alarmed lest a Zulu victory over the Boers, which appeared inevitable unless England came to their assistance, might plunge the whole of South Africa into war, sent their Commissioner, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, to confer with the President of the Transvaal, with authority to proclaim the reannexation of the Transvaal to the British Empire, should the people of the Transvaal, in their unprotected and disordered condition, invite Her Majesty's Government to undertake the administration of their territory.

After three months' inquiry, Sir Theophilus Shepstone proclaimed the annexation, the Boer President, President Burgers, fully acquiescing in the necessity for the step, and most of the members of the Government expressing themselves anxious for it, although none of them had the courage to say so openly.

Before the proclamation was made public the British Commissioner submitted the draft to the Boer President, and embodied in it various alterations and conditions suggested by him. At the same time, however, that the President secretly agreed to the Proclamation of Annexation, he thought it necessary to issue a protest against it, as a means of preventing a possible disturbance on the part of a considerable number of Boers of the lowest and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most ignorant class, who were assembled in the neighborhood. To this protest the British Commissioner felt no very strong objection, regarding it, most unfortunately, as subsequent events have shown, as a method of overcoming a temporary difficulty, and unlikely to be attended by any permanent results.

In his letter to the Home Government, Sir Theophilus Shepstone said:*

"Nothing but annexation can or will save the State, and nothing else can save South Africa from the direst consequences. All thinking and intelligent people know this and will be thankful to be delivered from the thraldom of petty factions by which they are kept in a state of perpetual excitement and unrest, because the Government and everything connected with it is a thorough sham."

Sir Bartle Frere gave an additional reason for Shepstone's act of annexation. He said:

"The Boer President had sought alliance with Continental Powers; Germany, Belgium, and Portugal had all been approached, and Shepstone had no reason to doubt that, if England declined to interfere, Germany would be induced to undertake the protection of the Transvaal, which would have added infinitely to our troubles in South Africa." †

The broad result of the annexation was to save the Transvaal from political annihilation. Shepstone, when he issued the proclamation, sent a message to Cetywayo informing him that the Transvaal was now the territory of the Queen. Cetywayo replied: "I thank my father Somtseu [Shepstone] for his message. I am glad that he has sent it, because the Dutch have tired me out, and I intended to fight with them once, only once, and to drive them from the Vaal. Kabana, you see my *impis* are gathered. It was to fight the Dutch I called them together. Now I will send them back to their houses."

The assertion of British sovereignty over the Transvaal kept Cetywayo temporarily quiet; but the difficulties of the position were great.

The Zulus complained that Cetywayo's English cow (Shepstone) had neglected her own calf (the Zulus), and was giving milk to a strange calf (the Transvaal Boers).

The Boers, on the other hand, complained that we had not given them the protection we had promised.

Shepstone writes, December 25, 1877:

"The Boers are still flying, and I think by this time there must be

* April 11, 1877.
† April 22, 1881. Martineau's "Life of Sir Bartle Frere." Vol. 2, p. 183.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a belt of more than 100 miles long and 30 broad in which, with three insignificant exceptions, there is nothing but absolute desolation. This will give your Excellency some idea of the mischief which Cetywayo's conduct has caused."

In 1879 the power of Cetywayo and his Zulu army was so menacing to the subjects of the Queen, both in Natal and in the Transvaal, that it became necessary for the British Government to reduce them to subjection by arms, a result achieved at an enormous loss of life and treasure. Meanwhile, the British Government had committed many serious blunders in its administration of the Transvaal. Owing to a desire on its part to accomplish the federation of South Africa, then in contemplation, before a new constitution for the Transvaal was promulgated, there was a most unfortunate delay in fulfilling the pledges given at the time of the annexation as to the granting of local autonomy. The irritation justly felt by the Boers at the non-fulfilment of these pledges was still further increased by the unfortunate blunders made by the British Government in the selection of their officials. Military men were appointed whose methods were harsh, and who were wanting in sympathy with Boer prejudices and customs, and the Boers became consequently more and more restless under the British rule which had been re-established primarily for their protection.

The war against Cetywayo, which had been entailed upon England by the annexation of the Transvaal, had freed the Boers from the danger arising from the presence on their frontier of from 30,000 to 40,000 armed and disciplined Zulus, but left them under no sense of obligation. Unmindful of the benefits they had received, they availed themselves of the immunity which British arms had given them, to rebel against the Government which had saved them from annihilation, and caught at any pretext for reasserting their independence.

The history of that revolt is well known, because of the well-intentioned but pathetic attempt of Mr. Gladstone, to quote Lord Rosebery's language, to carry prematurely "into international policy the principle of the Gospel."

The Boer population rose and attacked at great advantage the scattered and surprised British troops, and after much inconclusive fighting gained a startling victory over the small detachment which General Colley had himself led up Majuba Hill to hold the pass through the Drakensberg Mountains.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although the most positive assurances had been given on the part of Great Britain that the Queen's authority would never be withdrawn;* although on the strength of this assurance many had not hesitated to invest their capital and to incur the unpopularity of their Boer neighbors by their loyalty to the British flag; although fresh troops were arriving in Natal which would have enabled the British general to lead a force against the rebel Boers which they could not possibly have resisted; Mr. Gladstone, who had recently succeeded to the Premiership, decided to treat immediately with the Boers on the basis of the restoration to the Transvaal of its internal independence. With the full knowledge that he had victory in the hollow of his hand, but in the belief that "Great Britain could afford to do things, owing to her overpowering might and dominion, which other nations could not afford to do without a risk of misunderstanding,"† Mr. Gladstone resisted the temptation to re-establish British authority; and coming to the decision, after the defeat at Majuba Hill, that the obligations arising out of the annexation, sacred as they were, were overbalanced and outweighed by the yet more sacred obligations to the principle of political freedom—which requires that the fullest measure of self-government consistent with a due regard to imperial safety shall be given to every subject of the

*Sir Garnet Wolseley, now Viscount Wolseley, Commander-in-Chief, visited the Transvaal in 1879 as the representative of the Queen. "He made speeches in every village he visited declaring the Act of Annexation to be irrevocable, and afterward published a Proclamation to that effect. At Standerton, which is on the Vaal River, he told the people that the Vaal would flow backward through the Drakensberg before the British would be withdrawn from the Transvaal Territory." (Martineau's "Life of Sir Bartle Frere," Vol. 2, p. 361.)

Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated in the House of Lords, May, 1880: "After a careful consideration of the position we have come to the conclusion that we could not relinquish the Transvaal. Nothing could be more unfortunate than uncertainty in respect to such a matter."

On January 21, 1881, Mr. Gladstone said in the House of Commons ("Hansard," Vol. 257, page 1,141):

"To disapprove the annexation of a country is one thing; to abandon that annexation is another. Whatever we do, we must not blind ourselves to the legitimate consequences of facts. By the annexation of the Transvaal we contracted new obligations. . . .

"I must look at the obligations entailed by the annexation; and if in my opinion, and in the opinion of many on this side of the House, wrong was done by the annexation itself, that would not warrant us in doing fresh, distinct and separate wrong, by a disregard of the obligations which that annexation entailed. Those obligations have been referred to in this debate, and have been mentioned in the compass of a single sentence. First, there was the obligation entailed toward the English and other settlers in the Transvaal, perhaps including a minority, though a very small minority, of the Dutch Boers themselves; secondly, there was the obligation toward the native races, an obligation which I may call an obligation of humanity and justice; and, thirdly, there was the political obligation we entailed upon ourselves in respect to the responsibility which was already incumbent on us, and which we, by the annexation, largely extended, for the future peace and tranquillity of South Africa. None of these obligations could we overlook."

†Lord Rosebery, at Bath, November, 1899.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Queen in every portion of her Empire—he resolved to treat with the Boers after the defeat of British troops in Her Majesty's territory, as if the British arms had suffered no reverse, and to concede to the inhabitants of the Transvaal complete self-government subject to the suzerainty of the British Crown.

The results of this well-intentioned action have been most unfortunate. The loyalists considered themselves betrayed, and the Dutch throughout South Africa, believing Mr. Gladstone's surrender to have been the result not of magnanimity but of cowardice, learned to look upon the British with contempt.

Interpreting the retrocession as an act of fear, and believing that cowardice and not magnanimity was the mainspring of the action of Great Britain, the Boers became intoxicated with the hope that the time was approaching when they would be able to realize their long-cherished dream of establishing a great paramount Afrikander State in South Africa. That the Boers had been encouraged by the independence conferred upon them by the Sand River Convention in 1852 to look forward to the creation of a powerful Afrikander State with anti-British sympathies is evident from a letter of Sir Bartle Frere, dated May 21, 1877, to Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which he points out that the proclamation annexing the Transvaal to the British Crown "has startled and alarmed both classes of the Dutch, the Afrikanders and the Neologians, who sympathized with Burgers in his dreams of a great anti-British South Africa."

The history of the Transvaal since the retrocession shows a steady and determined endeavor on the part of President Krüger to reach forward toward this aim. The letter of General Joubert, the Commander-General of the Transvaal, to Lobengula, the King of the Matabele, in March, 1882, supplies a characteristic bit of evidence as to the nature of Boer hopes and the view which they took of Mr. Gladstone's magnanimity. In this letter he points out how the English took away from the Boers their country in 1877, and how they "would not listen to our nice talk for four years; but when the shooting and fighting began, the English decided it would be better to give us back our country; *that England is like a monkey that has its hands full of pumpkin-seeds—if you don't beat him to death he will never let go;*" and General Joubert goes on to say that when they have succeeded in blowing away altogether "the stink which the English brought" into the Trans-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vaal, he will ride so far as to reach Lobengula and speak to him "with the pen upon paper."

The comparative ease with which the Boers regained their independence evidently led them to the conclusion that the extension of the boundaries of the Republic would be a matter easy of accomplishment. With that object in view they raided Bechuanaland in 1884, Zululand in 1884, Swaziland and Mashonaland in 1891. In two of these instances the armed intervention of the British Government was necessary. In 1884 Sir Charles Warren was sent up to Bechuanaland with a force of 1,000 men, at a cost of over a million to the Imperial Government, to force the raiders to withdraw. In 1891 Dr. Jameson, with a small force of police, induced the leaders of the Banyai Trek to disperse their followers at Rhodes Drift on the Limpopo. In both cases the raiders were thwarted without bloodshed by the prompt action of the British. In Tongaland, also, the Boers endeavored to gain a footing, but their object was defeated by the Queen Regent's acceptance of England's suzerainty in 1887.

In the negotiations which took place in 1881 it was decided that the government of the country should be vested, not in the hands of the Boers alone, but in the "*inhabitants* of the Transvaal." It was thoroughly understood, by both English and Boer negotiators, that no privileged class should be created, and that the non-Boer section of the population should be placed in a position of absolute political equality with the Boers. These promises were quickly forgotten. The principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, in deference to which Mr. Gladstone had retroceded the Transvaal, were cunningly and with set purpose violated by the successive encroachments of President Krüger, who, conscious that the Boers were unable to develop by their own capital, their own industry and their own enterprise the vast mineral wealth of the Transvaal, and perceiving the enormous advantages they could secure to themselves by the development of those resources by others, received with open arms the Uitlander population by whose brains and energy the Boers hoped to profit, but at the same time steadily plotted and planned to keep them in a position of civil and political inferiority.

The British Government, conscious of its own strength and occupied with other and, as it seemed at the time, more important matters, allowed these early violations to pass unnoticed, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

permitted matters to drift, until the attention of the whole civilized world was suddenly focused on the wrongs of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal, in the most sensational manner, by Dr. Jameson's futile rush to their assistance at the head of 500 or 600 men. This highly irregular and revolutionary proceeding forced upon the attention of the people of England the terrible wrongs of which the British subjects in the Transvaal were the unhappy victims. Repeated changes in the law had, contrary to the engagements of President Krüger at the time of retrocession, practically disfranchised the Uitlanders and converted them into political helots. Although they owned by purchase three-fifths of the land in the country, and contributed nine-tenths of the taxation; although they had by their energy and enterprise redeemed the country from a state of insolvency, and set it in a position of affluence; although they were a majority of the white population, yet in all matters affecting their lives, their liberties and their properties they had absolutely no voice. The great American principle of representative government on the basis of equal rights, in deference to which Mr. Gladstone had arrested the march of his army on the eve of victory and given the Transvaal back to the Boers, had been flagrantly violated and set aside. The Boer oligarchy, in their determination to retain a monopoly of power, and in their alarm at the growth of Johannesburg adopted menacing methods to keep down the increasing discontent.

The following passage, extracted from the manifesto issued by the Transvaal National Union before the revolt, shows that the policy of great armaments on which the Boer Government had embarked was not, as frequently supposed, a consequence, but was one of the causes, of the revolt:

"We now have openly the policy of force revealed to us: £250,000 is to be spent upon the completing of a fort at Pretoria, £100,000 is to be spent upon a fort to terrorize the inhabitants of Johannesburg, large orders are sent to Krupp's for big guns, Maxims have been ordered, and we are even told that German officers are coming out to drill the burghers. Are these things necessary, or are they calculated to irritate the feeling to breaking-point? What necessity is there for forts in peaceful inland towns? Why should the Government endeavor to keep us in subjection to unjust laws by the power of the sword, instead of making themselves live in the heart of the people by a broad policy of justice? What can be said of a policy which deliberately divides the two great sections of the people from each other, instead of uniting them under equal laws, or the policy which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

keeps us in eternal turmoil with the neighboring States? What shall be said of the statecraft every act of which sows torments, discontent, or race hatred, and reveals a conception of Republicanism under which the only privilege of the majority of the people is to provide the revenue, and to bear insults, while only those are considered republicans who speak a certain language, and in greater or less degree share the prejudices of the ruling classes?"

The petition for franchise rights respectfully presented by the down-trodden Uitlanders to the Government of the Transvaal had been laughed to scorn by the members of the Dutch oligarchy, who answered them that they were not fit to be entrusted with votes, but should have big guns turned upon them to secure their good behavior. The people of Johannesburg, realizing that their only hope of securing the rights of free men lay in a resort to force, proceeded to prepare themselves for such efforts as might be necessary to enable them to win their own salvation. It is impossible for any fair-minded man to deny, in view of the intolerable grievances of which they were the victims, that the Uitlanders were perfectly justified in endeavoring to obtain by arms that redress which they had found it absolutely impossible to obtain by constitutional methods. Unfortunately their cause was put out of court for a time by the fatal blunder of Dr. Jameson's ill-starred intervention. While British sympathies would most undoubtedly have sided with a spontaneous insurrection, on the part of a large down-trodden population, against the oppression of a tyrannical oligarchy, they would have nothing to say to an insurrection improperly stimulated from without.

The men of Johannesburg were accordingly called upon by the High Commissioner of the Queen to lay down the arms on which they had depended for the assertion of their rights, to save the lives of Dr. Jameson and his men, and as a condition precedent to the interference of the British Government on their behalf. Her Majesty's Government, by requiring them to lay down their arms, deprived them of their only weapon of defense against misgovernment, namely, "the sacred right of insurrection," and thus incurred a responsibility of a most direct and binding character, which it would have been impossible to evade without dishonor.

It must be remembered, however, that before the surrender of their arms by the Johannesburg people President Krüger had promised redress. Encouraged by his assumption of a sympathetic attitude, Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner, carefully abstained from taking any step, or pressing any demand upon President Krüger, which could reasonably be regarded by him and his advisers as in the slightest degree harsh or unnecessary.

But the result of this patience and forbearance was not satisfactory. Instead of giving to the Uitlanders the redress which he had promised, President Krüger, now that their arms had been given up, hardened his heart and mercilessly tightened the bonds of his tyranny.

The position of the Uitlanders, which was intolerable before the revolt, grew steadily worse and worse. The alterations which were made in the franchise laws, so far from meeting their most legitimate demands, increased the disabilities imposed upon them. The High Court was placed in complete subordination to the Executive, who frequently refused to abide by its decisions. The use of the English language both in the courts of law and Government offices was forbidden. In Government schools, paid for by the Uitlanders, the Dutch language was the sole medium of instruction for the older children. Even in municipal matters the inhabitants of Johannesburg were prevented from exercising any control, with the result that the number of deaths caused by neglect of the most elementary sanitary regulations was appalling; the police, composed of country Boers, were ignorant, brutal and corrupt, and a standing menace to the persons and property of the unarmed Uitlanders; the Government connivance at the sale of liquor to natives led to widespread demoralization in the mining centres, with consequent danger to the population and damage to the industry; concessions and monopolies were freely granted for the benefit, not of the State, but of private individuals; and the amounts wrung from the Uitlanders by taxation steadily increased without any corresponding benefit either through increased efficiency or construction of public works.

After nearly three years of fruitless representations, the apparently unprovoked murder of a British subject, named Edgar, in December, 1898, by a Boer policeman, and the action of the Government in condoning the crime, fired the smouldering discontent and indignation.* A petition praying Her Majesty to

*While £200 was all the bail demanded for the Boer policeman charged with the crime of murdering a British subject, £1,000 was the bail demanded from two Englishmen, Messrs. Dodd and Webb, who were arrested under the Public Meetings Act for having organized an illegal public meet-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extend to them her protection was signed by upward of 21,000 British subjects. This petition was received by Her Majesty, and Sir Alfred Milner was instructed to negotiate with President Krüger at Bloemfontein, with the hope of obtaining for the Uitlanders an immediate representation in the Volksraad, such as would enable them to press for the redress of their grievances, without enabling them to obtain a preponderating vote in that Assembly.

The story of the negotiations is fresh in the public memory. Suffice it to say that the demands presented by Sir Alfred Milner as the minimum of what he would recommend the Uitlanders to accept, were regarded by the common consent of the civilized world as most reasonable and just, and as erring, if they erred at all, on the side of moderation. To the surprise of all, except those who were well acquainted with President Krüger, these moderate demands were rejected. Repeated and dishonest attempts to throw dust in the eyes of the public by offering illusory concessions were made; and although the British negotiators persevered to the end in their efforts to reach a settlement which might be regarded on both sides as a fair compromise between the pretensions of the Boers and the claims of the Uitlanders, it was realized at length that their task from the first had been hopeless. Negotiations were finally brought to a close by President Krüger, who hurled in the face of Great Britain an insolent ultimatum, which was followed up by the invasion of British territories on three frontiers of the Transvaal, and by proclamations purporting to annex vast areas of the Queen's dominions to the Dutch Republics.

The evidence is now conclusive that Presidents Krüger and Steyn have been steadily and secretly preparing for years, by the importation of arms, ammunition, and of powerful artillery, and by the training of their burghers in artillery practice, to blow "the stink of the English" into the sea, on the first occasion when England might be hampered by foreign complications.

The President of the Free State has had German artillery officers diligently engaged for the last three years in training the Boers of the Free State to use the most scientific modern artillery; and in April last, before the Bloemfontein Conference took place, President Krüger placed an order on the Continent for the supply

ing in the market-place at Johannesburg, in support of the proposal to petition the Queen.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of 80,000 rifles and 20,000,000 rounds of ammunition; and it is significant that their delivery in the Transvaal preceded his ultimatum only by a few weeks.

What then is England fighting for? It is impossible to answer this question in better language than that used by Mr. Joseph Cowen, for many years the Radical member for Newcastle-on-Tyne:

> "We are fighting to prevent men of British blood from being treated as 'helots' on British territory, by a sordid oligarchy which British arms saved from extinction and British generosity endowed with autonomy. We want racial equality. The Boers want racial ascendency. That's the difference. We are at war for the purpose of preventing our brethren in South Africa from being taxed without representation; from being placed under the control of courts whose judges take their orders from a corrupt Executive; from being refused the right to carry arms, while their oppressors flourish theirs with insolent brutality; from being compelled to contribute to schools in which English is treated as a foreign tongue; in short, from being denied the elementary rights of self-government."

Let it be clearly understood what are the issues of the present struggle. Although the poor, unhappy Boer farmers may honestly believe that they are fighting not only for their independence, but for their hearths and homes, as the corrupt oligarchy, whose personal interests are involved in the maintenance of the present system, would have them believe, the truth is that they are fighting for the right to oppress the Uitlanders; and the British are fighting for the real independence of the Transvaal, under which Boer and Briton will have equal rights and stand toward each other on a footing of political equality. It is, indeed, melancholy that the desire to "put back the clock," to use Lord Rosebery's happy phrase, and to resist the application to their country of those principles and ideas which are the proud attributes of civilization, should deluge South Africa with so many streams of blood. The fact that England is fighting the battle of mankind, in her endeavor to carry the "charter of freedom to a fettered State," is the reason why she has been supported in this war for freedom by her liberty-loving sons who dwell on the fringes of her Empire.

It is the solidarity of feeling as to this principle which has secured for her this support, which has induced French-Canadians, and every section of the colonial subjects of the Queen, to give their best in aid of the common cause of liberty and freedom. The out-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

burst of spontaneous enthusiasm which has been evoked is phenomenal and betokens a deep-seated cause.

An intuition thrills the Anglo-Saxon world that the federation of South Africa on the basis of equal rights to Boer and Briton, which will follow the war, is only the precursor of the federation of Canada, Australia and South Africa with the British Empire, and, in the fullness of time, of the federation of the whole English-speaking race. GREY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENGLAND, THE TRANSVAAL AND THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

BY PROFESSOR HANS DELBRÜCK, LECTURER ON HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

A STRONG and even passionate feeling of resentment against England prevails at the present moment over the whole Continent of Europe. The successes of the Boers have been greeted with exultation, and further favorable news is awaited with eager suspense. This need not excite surprise, at any rate so far as the Russians are concerned, for they have long seen their greatest enemy in the English. France, until recently, had divided her dislike between the English and the Germans; but ever since Fashoda her desire for revenge for that humiliation has thrown her antagonism toward Germany into the background. Hence, the curious and characteristic feature in the political situation of Europe at this moment is that the people of Germany, the leading power of the Triple Alliance, are entirely in agreement with the members of the Dual Alliance, inasmuch as a sentiment of hate for England unites the whole Continent.

It is well known that a friendly feeling toward England has always existed in Germany. German Protestants have never been tired of emphasizing the community of creed between England and Germany; while German Liberals have seen their ideals realized in the Constitution of England, which they ultimately hoped to be able to attain for themselves. On the other hand, it must be admitted that German Conservatives have always inclined more toward Russia than toward England. To-day all German parties are united in rejoicing over English defeats. Public meetings censure the Government for not intervening in favor of the Boers and urge the Emperor not to carry out his intention of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

going to England. Many, on the other hand, condemn the adoption of such resolutions at public meetings on the ground that it is not customary or proper to dictate his personal movements to an Emperor. But, in one main sentiment, the whole people, the whole press and all parties are united: they view the Emperor's journey with great displeasure, the more so as they feel that it will be interpreted throughout the world as a demonstration against the Boers.

The hatred which our forefathers felt for the French (at whose hands they had suffered so much from the time of Louis XIV. down to that of Napoleon) is gradually dying out. To-day, people in Germany are rather pleased than otherwise when they read of anything which is advantageous to the French. On the other hand, a certain apprehension of Russia exists in the minds of a cultivated and clear-sighted minority, to whom the despotism of the Czar is repugnant, and his power a constant menace. But, on the other hand, it is felt that any possible danger with which Russia might threaten Germany lies in the distant future. In fact, since Russia has retired from the Balkan Peninsula to concentrate her attention more and more on the Far East, we are on good terms with our Eastern neighbor, and every apprehension of the great war which Germany would have to wage with a double front to the east and west has passed away. In fact, Germany to-day might very well be friends with the world at large.

But a nation as well as an individual must seemingly either love or hate. If the multitude had no enemy to be the object of its hatred, it would take no part in foreign politics at all. So the German nation, which once celebrated with delight the memory of the *belle alliance* of Blücher and Wellington at Waterloo, has now directed its hate against England. England must have no illusions on this point; if it were announced to-morrow that Russia, France and Germany had concluded a Continental alliance against England, this news would be welcomed everywhere with joy by the people of these three nations.

If you ask the man in the street why he is imbued with such an unbounded ill-feeling toward England and such a sudden sympathy for the Boers, his reply would be that the Boers are of his own race, and are being visited with an unrighteous, even heinous, war on the part of the English. A few of the better classes are more moderate and reserved in their opinions; they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are not disposed to attach too much value to the question of affinity, since the English also, as Anglo-Saxons, are equally our cousins. They point out that the Boers, albeit Christians, are semi-barbarians, whereas the English are a people on the highest level of civilization. Neither do they take the judicial question of right and wrong to be so decisively clear as to preclude every doubt or difference of opinion. It cannot well be malice aforethought on the part of the English that caused the gold fields to be discovered on the territory of the Boers, and it is the gold fields which have produced the present conflict. The gold fields have led the Uitlanders into the country of the Boers, and the Uitlanders claimed an opportunity to take part in the Government, which the Boers refused. The English have interfered in this dispute.

It is obviously not true, as the English assert, that they are fighting for the equality of the white races; they are fighting for equal rights of the immigrants with the Dutch inhabitants. Nor can it be denied that there were good grounds for the English Government's formulating such a demand on President Krüger. The English Government was justified in this course—at least so say those who have followed the whole course of events with a desire to judge dispassionately. But even those who concede so much agree in the main with the judgment of the crowd; for they say that it is immaterial whether England's right of interference in the Transvaal is based upon the Convention or not; the real cause of the action of England is her claim to be the paramount power in South Africa. And the position of paramount power in South Africa is only the preliminary step toward the establishment of British rule from the Cape to the Nile. England insists on being the only great commercial and colonial power in the world, and is only willing to allow other nations the favor of owning small fragments as *enclaves* wedged in helplessly between her possessions. This it is which we neither can nor intend to tolerate. Once England has overcome the Boers, she will take the German possessions in Africa as her next booty. At present there is still Portuguese territory intervening; but Portugal, pressed by financial necessities, will soon be forced to part with it. Perhaps Germany and England will share it between them; but in every case the benefit will only be an illusory one for Germany, should England at the same time endeavor to up-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hold the position of paramount power toward Germany also. This is the reason why even the most peace-loving citizen, the best friend of England among the German people, looks upon the struggle of the Boers with England as though it were his own cause. We no longer feel inclined to accept the pretensions of England to Anglicize one continent of the world after another. The good things of this world belong to all civilized nations in common. As England is not expected to give way peaceably, and as her great naval power cannot be overwhelmed by any one single State, the best remedy would be the alliance against her of all her rivals together, especially of Russia, France and Germany.

There are some Germans, especially those of the old Bismarck school, who think that a Continental alliance against England would be a *fata morgana,* and for this reason, that France will never give up the idea of revenge for 1870, and, therefore, Germany never would be safe from treachery in any co-operation with that country, or when face to face with any great crisis. But even those who are most suspicious of France would agree and co-operate with her from the moment that our western neighbors gave any tangible guarantee for the sincerity of their change of mind. People remember that, for many years, Prince Bismarck himself fostered the idea of a final reconciliation between Germany and France. It was he who encouraged Jules Ferry to revive the colonial policy of France, and, backed by Germany, the Great Vanquished of 1870 has since found plentiful territorial compensation for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine in her newly acquired colonies; witness Tunis, Cochin China, Siam, Madagascar and West Africa. It is also worth while noticing that France was never able to afford herself the luxury of becoming a colonial power, so long as she was solely bent on striving for the lost frontier of the Rhine. Louis XIV., as well as Napoleon I., the mightiest monarchs of their time, lost the sea against England because they had to fight on land at the same time against the German powers. A young German scholar of the Berlin University, Dr. Roloff, has published quite recently a book on the colonial policy of Napoleon I., and has shown from official documents, found by him in the archives of Paris, that the true inwardness of Napoleon's ambition was not to subdue the Continent of Europe, but to form a great French colonial power. His expedition to Egypt embodied the fundamental idea of his life, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

until the very last his mind was occupied with plans for an expedition to India. It came to nothing, because England had her allies on the Continent, and these grew more formidable in proportion to Napoleon's efforts to subdue them. It is now the first time in history that France, although vanquished on the Continent, has yet acquired huge colonial territories; indeed, she would have added even more to her dominions, if her statesmen had not been ceaselessly preoccupied and troubled in decisive moments by the memory of the lost provinces between the Rhine and the Moselle. We believe it to be a fact that when, four years ago, the Emperor William sent his congratulatory telegram to President Krüger, and England in a fit of wrath dispatched her flying squadron, the French Government offered England the support of France in case of complications. Fashoda became in due course the punishment for this diplomatic action; and, since this humiliation, it seems as between France and Germany only to be a question as to who will take the first step.

Such is the state of public opinion in Germany. There is only one person in the whole country who thinks otherwise, and that is the Kaiser. And in Germany foreign politics are shaped not by public opinion, but by the Kaiser. In America people think it the privilege of a free country to make her politics herself. In Germany we do not. The United States may be well satisfied with the results of their foreign relations in the one hundred and twenty-five years of their existence. But these relations always were very simple. In the Old World foreign politics are much more complicated and not so easily controlled by the whole nation. If France does not take so high a rank to-day among the great powers as formerly, it is not only the defeat of 1870, but her democratic Government, the constant change of her Foreign Ministers, which is responsible for the decline. "Secrecy is the soul of foreign politics," said Frederick the Great in his political testament. Who can entrust a secret to a diplomatist of the French Republic? The experience of history shows that in the long run monarchies have always overpowered democracies. Even the most successful examples of democracies in history, such as Athens, have not had a very long life. Rome, Venice and the Netherlands, which perhaps of all republics in the past may be said to have enjoyed the most prolonged prosperity, were more aristocratic than democratic in character.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany, therefore, leaves the direction of her foreign affairs to the Emperor and trusts that the sovereign will do the best he can, choose the most able counsellors he can find, and that he will be prompt as well as prudent. Since all he does for the nation he does also for himself, for his own greatness and glory, for the splendor of his family, and for the future of his children and posterity, all his interests depend upon and are included in the success of German policy and the welfare of Germany. The House of Hohenzollern never can be separated from the fortunes of the nation. Therefore the nation may safely confide its fortunes to the House of Hohenzollern; and even now, when public opinion has evidently taken quite a different view of things from that of the Emperor, or at least from that which he seems to hold, no public organ would propose, nor would the Reichstag itself wish, to alter the German constitution with regard to this particular point.

Perhaps here we might object that we have a great Social Democratic party in Germany, and that it is republican, and does not at all approve the direction of policy by a personal government. It is true that this is the meaning of the programme of this party; but in reality Social Democrats care very little for foreign politics, and though in general they have a certain sympathy with England in this struggle, there may be yet many who sympathize more with the Boers. The sturdy militia warfare waged by them against the mercenaries, the drilled soldiers, of England excites admiration. The Social Democrats are thus divided in their sympathies; and, besides being a minority, they will not in any way thwart the policy which the Kaiser determines to follow.

Now the Emperor is unquestionably proud and ambitious; he desires above all to preserve the position of his dynasty and that of the German nation among the great Powers; he would not willingly let his country become inferior to any other empire, kingdom or country in the world. But he also is a man of modern ideas. He detests the cruelty of war, and he will never engage in warfare as long as it is possible for Germany to avoid it. He knows that a great country which possesses a strong army and navy can secure success without bloodshed. In his eyes, the task for Germany is to preserve the balance between all her neighbors; to provide that the world shall never become either entirely English or Russian. A Continental Alliance against England would undoubtedly sooner or later mean a general war against her. This

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

war the Emperor wants to avoid, or at any rate not to provoke. So he looks for ways and means to make German policy run not against, but rather with, England as long as this is possible.

It is, perhaps, as well to bear in mind that the aim which the Kaiser strives for is essentially the same as that which public opinion in Germany has in view: to win for our race an assured future, not to allow England to rule alone in Africa. The only difference is in the ways and means. German public opinion would prefer a policy openly directed against England, by means of a Continental Alliance. This does not mean, indeed, to embark in hostilities toward England. Such a possibility is not even so much as contemplated. It is hoped and believed that the mere conclusion of the great alliance indicated would suffice to bring about the desired result. The Emperor, on the other hand, sees that such an alliance would be ineffectual unless it were indeed an alliance for war. Therefore, he has chosen the other alternative, and wishes to go hand in hand with England, as already stated, so long as this is possible.

The question now is how long this will be possible, and the answer depends on many contingencies. Although foreign affairs in Germany are directed by the Emperor and not by the nation, the Emperor, of course, is not out of touch with, much less antagonistic toward, the country. He can do what he likes, but he certainly will not act permanently against the sentiment of the people. To continue his own policy, he must from time to time prove to the country that he is moving in the right direction. He must be in a position to show results. At this very moment there comes the news of the treaty concerning Samoa. It was certainly very clever of the English Ministers to make a slight concession to German aspirations; perhaps there are more such things in the background. The Emperor will next pay a visit to his grandmother in England. Our German papers say that it is but a family visit, but in every English newspaper you can read that this visit will possess great political importance; and surely the English are right. A German Kaiser who pays a visit to England cannot be a party to an alliance against England; and as without Germany the other Powers cannot assume the offensive against England, the English are at liberty to deliberately concentrate all their force against the Transvaal. I should not be surprised to learn that this is an advantage acquired at a very low price. It is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

noticeable that the title-deeds of England to Samoa are to be paid for by Germany by the cession of some other islands in the South Sea of much greater area than Samoa—besides territory in West Africa.

If the English, as seemed probable for a moment after the fight of Glencoe, had overrun the Boers without any great effort, I have little doubt that the Continental Alliance above referred to would have been very soon effected. English diplomacy, elated by the happy issue, would hardly have been inclined to appease all rivalry by pliability and moderation. So far, perhaps, the heroism of the Boers is a bit of good fortune for England.

If, after a long and tenacious struggle, England and the Transvaal should come to a convention for the peace of the world, this surely would be the best outcome of the situation. The hostile sentiments of the Continental nations, especially of the Germans, will be restrained, and the Kaiser will be able to continue his policy of peaceful moderation. If, however, England should not speedily prove to be strong enough to protect her own territories and to drive the Boers back into their own land, to enforce an honorable and suitable peace, if the war is to go on for more than a year, nobody can say to-day what the consequence will be for the politics of the world. In such a case, Russia and France would very likely endeavor to profit by the opportunity and extend their colonial influence. The Russian Emperor especially must be displeased at the fact that his great Congress of Peace at The Hague has been estimated so lightly by the English. Arbitration, which he wants to be employed instead of war, or at least before the peoples resolve to go to war, has not even come into question in the conflict between England and the Transvaal. Very likely Mr. Chamberlain has fomented the Transvaal trouble just at this time because the Russians are not yet ready with their Siberian Railway, which would at once enable them to bring their forces within a fortnight from Moscow to Pekin. But if the Boer war should continue for months and months, Russia may find other points, perhaps in Persia, where she could make a great advance. The most ominous eventuality for England undoubtedly would be if Russia and France together should determine to bring up the Egyptian question. Egypt is by far the most important acquisition that England has made in our time, and she has no legal title under international law to remain there.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

However, it is of little avail to pass in review the international questions which might be brought to the fore in consequence of the South African crisis. What I wanted to say is only that the feelings of the Continental nations of Europe at this moment are in an astonishing unison against England, and would greet with joy any measures that their Governments should happen to undertake against England. The man who restrains them all from common political action is the German Emperor, and no doubt he will continue to do so as long as English statesmen and the course of the South African war may render it possible for him.

HANS DELBRÜCK.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GREAT BRITAIN ON THE WAR-PATH.

BY VLADIMIR HOLMSTREM AND PRINCE OOKHTOMSKY.

In 1896, when the English started on their famous Dongola expedition, on behalf of the defeated Italians caught in the British trap through Crispi's criminal ambition, I wrote a leading article in the St. Petersburg *Viedomosti*, under the English title, "The Robbers of Posterity." In it I endeavored to demonstrate that the expedition had nothing of the nature of strategical movement; that it was part of a far-reaching scheme which involved an advance into the very heart of Africa, intended to make the English masters of the whole course of the Nile, thus giving them in reality complete control of Eastern Africa, and rendering their pressure on the Mediterranean and the countries bordering on it quite formidable. The article in question called upon itself the attention of the *Times* of London, which charged me with a fondness for rhetoric and a penchant for loud-sounding phrases.

Circumstances, however, proved that I had not been so bad a prophet after all. Not only have the English, in the course of the last three years, acquired the whole of the Nile Valley, planting their flag in Khartoum, but, likewise, after bringing matters to the verge of war in connection with the Fashoda incident, they have extended their claims over regions far in the interior to the west of the Nile, acquiring by a convention forced on France Darfur and Kordofan, and lying in wait for an occasion of expanding their dominion in the eastern direction by the conquest of Abyssinia. The "Robbers of Posterity" have done their work pretty neatly. Nearly the whole of Eastern Africa has fallen into their lap.

The sinister significance of the British successes mentioned above lies in the fact that all these achievements of British diplo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

macy and military power are parts of a vast preconceived scheme. The present Transvaal war is but the realization of one of its details; and that it is unfairly and unscrupulously waged against a State whose political and international status is quite clearly defined only shows the extent to which the bad faith and mischievous purpose of England may go. Such is the Russian view of the present crisis in South Africa; and need I say that this view is fully justified by the facts of its history, as set forth by English writers themselves?

It is no secret that the greatness of the British Empire dates from the conquest of India; so much so that, through all the periods of English history, underlying all manifestations of English political thought and life, there passes, like a red thread, the idea of the preservation of England's great Asiatic possession. To develop communications between this vast dependency and the metropolis, to shorten the ways that lead to India, has been the chief preoccupation of generations of British statesmen. Such an idea is by no means in itself discreditable, but, unfortunately, England's greed has led her people to set no limits to their ambition and to fulfil their historic task with utter disregard of the vital interests of other nations and races. In her efforts to establish the security of India she has thrown a net over the States of Europe (as well as over alien races in other parts of the world, though injustice in this case does not count, according to the code of the Christian civilization of today), a net that is always tightening round the necks of other peoples, killing their energies, rendering them incapable of fulfilling their own mission or of attaining moral and spiritual perfection through the aid of noble deeds. A curse to mankind was and is the policy pursued by Great Britain for the last two centuries. Through blood and tears is she making her progress through the world; but, unfortunately, other European nations and the great American Republic have had until lately too much to do in their respective countries to admit of their paying attention to the fate of the people of India, Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, the British sections of Africa, China and Ireland. "Darkest England" has never been put before the world in her true character; her talk and pretense of furthering the cause of civilization and humanity having thrown a veil over British misdeeds. But Lord Beaconsfield's policy in Turkey, like that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Mr. Chamberlain in the Transvaal, affords a striking example of the general character of Great Britain's doubtful services to civilization. With a view to opening a way to India through the countries in possession of the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain played a double game with the Sultans. On the one hand she gave them assistance in their suicidal policy of trampling upon, keeping under foot and massacring the Christian population of the Empire; and on the other, she called forth the righteous indignation of Europe against the Turks, thus holding the Ottoman Empire in her power and pocketing all she could take. The Armenians, the Cretans, the Egyptians, the Slav population of Turkey could all tell a sinister tale of their sufferings, which benefited only England. The general idea of British politicians was to shut in the Ottoman Empire, by the creation of independent States, against any one coming from the north, thereby leaving themselves a free hand for grasping Cyprus, Egypt and Arabia, the possession of which would render them masters of the Persian Gulf and the whole of the Indian Ocean.

"Study the maps!" Such was the advice tendered to his countrymen by Lord Salisbury in one of his speeches. "Study the maps," will I say to the great public in general, "if you wish to form a correct idea of the English designs."

By southern ways Great Britain is creeping to the north, making the English pressure irresistible. Mr. Chamberlain's policy in the Transvaal, which had the general approval of the members of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, is a striking illustration of this fact. The tightening of the English grasp on South Africa, coming as it does after the conquest of the Soudan, gives England new strength on the Indian Ocean, brings the English nearer to India, to the Persian Gulf, to Arabia, to the Far East—in short, this is the English answer to Germany's colonial activity and to the taking by the United States of the Philippine Islands.

If in the algebraic problem presented by the English policy you were to put in the place of the unknown "*x*" England's move to the East, you should have solved the problem and got an answer to all the details of the question that are difficult at first to understand.

Such is exactly the course of the English policy which I predicted three years ago when I wrote the article on "The Robbers of Posterity." What was, therefore, my surprise, not only

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when events had proved the correctness of my forecast, but when, at the beginning of the Transvaal war, I actually read in one of the London periodicals an article in which the author put forth exactly the same idea of the strengthening of the English dominion over the Indian Ocean, and, as a consequence, over the Persian Gulf. A clear indication that such is really the English aim is afforded by the vigorous campaign carried on lately by the Indian press against Russia's supposed designs on Bender-Abbas on the Persian Gulf.

But there is more in the present political movement of England than is apparent at first sight.

All I have described above regarding England's preoccupation about India shows by itself that the present display of British force is bound to be followed by others in various directions, and that the English have started on a career of military conquest. *"Qui a bu, boira!"* is the French saying; translated into English, *special* English in this case, it means: *"He who has drunk of blood, shall drink it again!"* It must not be forgotten that Mr. Chamberlain has been made the spokesman of the present Unionist ministry, thereby involving the majority of the Liberal-Unionists in responsibility for the deeds of the present Conservative Government, which is, in the case of the Transvaal, supported by the Liberal-Imperialists, led, actually though not nominally, by Lord Rosebery. But what was some years ago the chief aim of the present colonial minister? He sought to strengthen the ties binding the colonies to the mother country by creating a colonial Zollverein. Having, however, failed in this task, the British ministry turned their activity to arousing a special colonial patriotism in matters particularly English and having no concern with the colonies. This colonial patriotism was called *imperialism,* which was made so broad as to include the United States on the same grounds as Canada in the task of working for the achievement of a pan-British ideal. The "Anglo-Saxon" cry was also raised with the same aim.

It must be acknowledged that the English ministry are fighting against real dangers, although they do not realize that they are engaged in an attempt to oppose the force of events. The centre of political and commercial power, which was once located in London and Paris (England finally defeating France in the time of Napoleon), has shifted, under the pressure of events, to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the West and to the East—to America, where the United States are contending with the same England in the Canadian overcoat, and to the centres of the European Continent, Berlin and St. Petersburg, on which continent England tries to fight Russia with the aid of Germany. The struggle in each case must prove utterly futile, at all events in the future, as history unlooses the forces which underly the world's political structure; but the struggle may be rendered profitless in the present as well, if the nations interested realize the meaning of passing events and make it plain to England that the time of her undisputed dominion over the world has come to an end.

The present Transvaal war has the following meaning to the British Empire. Bearing in mind, on the one hand, that British political power is on the wane, and wishing, on the other hand, to infuse new blood into the Empire with the aid of its colonies, British politicians have started on a career of conquest, making out of the Transvaal an object lesson for their future exploits. The present Transvaal war is practically a step in the mobilization of all the forces of the British Empire, the colonial forces included. It imports, likewise, the denying to the colonies of a right to a separate life, to separate interests: all life, all interests must be sacrificed for the English ideal. It is notorious that for a number of years the leading English statesmen have persistently put forward the idea of the colonies co-operating in the defense of the Empire. I find the same thought expressed by Sir Charles Dilke in the October issue of this REVIEW. The Transvaal, in case of the success of British arms, is destined to be a second Alsace and Lorraine, which formed the cornerstone of the vast building of the German Empire; the Transvaal is a rallying point for the colonial forces.

"Qui a bu, boira!" As the Prussians, after the war with Denmark, fought the Austrians and then the French, so England, after fighting the Transvaal, will have a ready weapon to fight in any direction that may be thought necessary. The central power in London will simply turn the fighting energies of the colonies in the direction selected: to North Africa, to the Persian Gulf, to Arabia, to Abyssinia, to China, to Canada, to Nicaragua, etc. The English politicians will, with the greatest ease, bring pressure to bear on all points of the globe, when required.

So much for England, in case of her success in the campaign.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the character and scope of this success will in the long run depend on the attitude of the world's Powers.

For the Continental Powers of Europe, as well as for the United States, the consequences of English success and of the strengthening of Great Britain are plain enough. The two crucial questions, for the present, are these: Will the Powers realize the full meaning of the present English move? and, Will they play the English game? While I would answer the first question in the affirmative, I would give a negative reply to the second, were I sure of the far-sightedness, as a rule, of the persons called diplomats. For the United States there would be no danger in the present political situation and its necessary political developments, if the interests of Canada and of the United States were not artificially divided, if the Dominion were not irretrievably under British influence, and if it were not profitable to England to keep alive an eternal antagonism between the countries of the American continent. As matters now stand, the attitude of the United States ought to be the reverse of that of the Dominion; such are, at any rate, the American traditions of liberty and independence. What of the success of England in trying to create an antagonism between Germany and Russia? I do not believe in it, and for the following reasons. Germany has nothing whatever to gain by an antagonistic policy toward Russia. All the efforts of the German Empire are directed toward gaining full access to the seas and increasing its naval power. By spreading to the north, in the direction of Holland, Germany comes into collision with the English, as she is sure to do in the south, if the Germans ventured to find open access to the Mediterranean. The independence of Holland has made it difficult for Germany to accomplish the first task, although lately there has been much talk in the German press about common interests with Holland, and after the visit of Queen Wilhelmina to Berlin the British Ambassador at The Hague has gone away to London for a prolonged stay. The second task, in the Mediterranean, is rendered impossible to Germany by England's little game with poor Italy. Well! Coupled with the Anglo-German commercial rivalry, this antagonism between the political aims of Great Britain and Germany goes a long way to explain the present situation and its future developments, and it also shows that unfriendly relations with Russia would not "pay" Germany.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The political aims of Russia and Germany are identical without coming anywhere into collision. The Russians and the Germans "seek the seas" in their own separate spheres. This antagonism of Russian and German aims to those of England must necessarily underlie the relations between Russia and Germany, whatever aspect these relations may at any time acquire for the moment. It is true that both countries, Germany and Russia, are capable of creating many difficulties for one another, but they will always have to reckon with their respective positions in Europe, and they are bound to keep an eye—ay, both eyes—on England. The events in the Far East offer an example of the position sketched above. England dared not answer to the seizure of Kiao-Tchao and the Emperor's speech at Kiel, because she feared that Russia supported Germany; on the other hand, English politicians would not adopt an openly aggressive attitude toward Russia in China, because they secretly believed in a probable rupture between Germany and Russia. The English were mistaken; nobody in Europe wishes to fight their battles.

Whatever, therefore, may be the compensation that England is ready to pay to Germany for her benevolent attitude in the present campaign, it is plain that by associating herself with England, Germany would be carrying on a suicidal policy; would weaken herself by aiding in their designs the English statesmen, who are directing the policy of a State far superior to Germany as a world-wide Empire. True, we read in the papers about an Anglo-German arrangement in the question of Samoa, about Togoland, Zanzibar and the Portuguese African colonies. But this is nothing else than a repetition of the fable of the robber who stole a cow and gave his comrade the milk-jug. Germany cannot rest satisfied with the milk-jug in the form of concessions in Zanzibar, when England takes to herself the cow of the fable, the whole of South Africa, thereby strengthening the English position in the Indian Ocean and rendering almost useless the German colonies in East Africa.

The question which now faces the European Powers is: Can the strengthening of England on the Indian Ocean leave them indifferent; can the balance of power in the vicinity of the Ottoman Empire and in the Far East be disturbed? And all the world Powers have likewise to answer another question: How

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shall the putting forth by England of her colonial forces affect them?

The second question I have already answered, and it will aid me in replying to the first if I say that the Transvaal war, coming as it does after the Soudan campaign, gives unmistakable evidence that it is a career of conquest that they have begun in London. If the English were anxious about their commercial interests, they would not go to war, as all the principal ports and harbors of Africa are in their hands.

The first question as to the attitude likely to be assumed by the European Powers in the present struggle affords me the opportunity of stating that now is the moment when Russia, Germany and France, with their diplomacy, are brought simultaneously into prominence, and it is with them that the final answer rests. There can be no doubt about the attitude of Russia and France, the former having to secure her interests in the Persian Gulf and Abyssinia, and the latter, notwithstanding her possessions in Madagascar, Siam and Indo-China, not being even consulted by England before the commencement of the present war. There may be some doubt as to the final attitude of Germany, but the interests of the latter will bring her in the long run into line with the two former Powers, and the Potsdam interview of both Emperors, arranged according to Emperor William's desire, goes far to justify an optimistic view in this instance. Supposing, however, there were some doubts on this point, I think they would be disposed of if it were made clear to the minds of European diplomats that the question put before them is nothing else than the existence of France. In the sphere of colonial interests, the French Republic blocks the way to the expansion of the British Empire, and is met by the latter on every point of the globe. Were it not for France the British diplomats would not care a straw about Germany, so far have they surpassed her in the race for colonies. But having to fight France, the English are bound to conciliate Germany in the same manner as they lately pushed forward Italy in China. The existence of France is now at stake, the more so as Madagascar lies on the way from South Africa to the East; and we hope that Emperor William will not repeat the mistakes of Napoleon III. England is playing with Germany the same game as that played in the former days by Bismarck, who endeavored to lull

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the suspicions of the French Emperor while the "Iron Chancellor" was at work in the north and in the south of Prussia building up an empire. Napoleon was so short-sighted that he even fought the battles of England against Russia in the Crimea and finally got his due. In the present case, England realizes plainly that an assault on France, bringing her within the sphere of English political combinations, would give the English new vigor and colonial possessions and restore to Great Britain the political power which, according to some, is shifting to the West and to the East. Such an assault on France, however, no responsible politician of Germany and Russia would tolerate. When I say assault I mean not only actual warfare, but an attempt to crush by political pressure the political power of France for English benefit as well. Were this to be allowed, the power of resistance of the European Continent to England's encroachments would be diminished, and, in consequence, Germany's power would also be on the wane; the great fleets of Germany are things of the distant future.

The immediate future holds a probability of some combination of Powers, when the idea gains ground that the balance of power is disturbed in the Indian Ocean and in the countries lying in its vicinity, and that the growth of the colonial military forces of Great Britain is a standing menace to the whole world. Nobody can tell in what direction the colonial regiments will be sent next time, especially when Great Britain is on the eve of developing her military resources at home.

At any rate, whatever the issue of the present campaign, whether it be favorable to England or not, all the attention of the world Powers must be centred now on the Indian Ocean. Some action is imperative in this direction. What form this action shall take is a matter of secondary interest.

As to the effect which the criminal campaign against the Transvaal may have on the English people themselves, I will say this: The good angel of England is flown away; Gladstone is dead, quite dead, and now his countrymen are in the act of driving new and heavy nails into his coffin in order to hold its lid well down.

VLADIMIR HOLMSTREM.

P. S.—I approve Mr. Holmstrem's ideas on the subject of which he treats.

PRINCE OOKHTOMSKY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOME BOER CHARACTERISTICS.

BY GEORGE LACY.

THE most fruitful, and certainly the most fascinating, study of mankind is man—not man as a physiological unit; but man as a human soul, as an individual in his social relations, and as a collective entity. An adequate study of him in these phases cannot be made at second hand, by reading books or listening to the narrative of travellers who have known him only as a fleeting phenomenon among many others encountered in a rapid journey. It may safely be said that no estimates are so erroneous, indeed worthless, as those of the globe-trotter concerning the peoples with whom he is transiently brought into contact. If the study is to be of any value, one must carry it on through long years; must take part with the man who is the object of the study in all his pursuits, become one with him in his home life, his public life, his work and his play—not so much to listen to what he says, for the tongue is an unruly and unreliable member, as to observe what he does, and to probe into the root motives that prompt him in doing it. More than this, one must be familiar with his history, the achievements and failures of his race, and with all the circumstances by which he has in the past been surrounded; for nothing is more certain than that man is what circumstances have made him.

Concerning the Boers, I may safely claim that I have fulfilled to their widest extent all these essentials, more especially in respect of the Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The application of the term "Boer" to the whole Dutch population of South Africa is, while racially correct, decidedly misleading in practice. The Boers of the Transvaal differ essentially from those of the Cape Colony; those of the Orange Free State lie, geographically and in the scale of civilization, between the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two; and the Boers of Natal are readily distinguishable from all the others. I shall confine my remarks to those of the Transvaal and the Free State.

It is a common error to suppose that the Boers are a Dutch race. They are, strictly speaking, Dutch neither in descent, language nor manner of life. Of the original Boer population, a very large proportion—I think more than one-fourth—were French Huguenots, and French names are as common in the Transvaal as those of unmistakably Dutch origin. General Joubert is French, not only in his descent, but also in appearance and demeanor; President Krüger's wife bore the distinctively French name of Du Plessis. Perhaps the three commonest names in South Africa are De Villiers, Du Toit and Viljoen—all manifestly French. Besides this, there is a much larger admixture of colored blood in the Transvaal than is commonly believed; in the northeastern districts especially, I have seen scores of Boers who were unmistakably of mongrel descent. The Griquas, who number many thousands, and live in communities of their own, are, as every one knows, the offspring of Boer men and Hottentot women; and the "Cape Boys" are the same, or the offspring of Boer men and Bantu women. It is not to these I allude, but to men who are accepted by their brother Boers as equals and compatriots, which the Griquas and "Cape Boys" are not.

The language of the Boers is polyglot, not Dutch, and no Hollander can at first understand it. From their mixed French descent, one might suppose that it partook largely of the French tongue, but as a matter of fact, there is scarcely a trace of that influence in it. As in recent years the Boers tried to stamp out the English language in the Transvaal, so in previous times they tried to stamp out the French tongue in the Cape Colony; and they succeeded so effectually that it became completely lost. The Boer language is an admixture of debased Dutch, corrupted English, and Kitchen Kaffir.

In their manner of life, no people are less Dutch than the Boers. The distinctive feature of Dutch life is cleanliness, both in person and in the conduct of the home; the distinctive feature of Boer life is dirt. Unless it be among the inhabitants of the colder and more remote districts of Russia, the Boers must assuredly be the dirtiest white people in the world. I cannot believe that any people, of any color whatsoever, can be dirtier in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their appearance and habits. In fact, the amount of grime they carry about them is absolutely inconceivable to those accustomed to some of the minor refinements of life. In the days when the vast plains of the States swarmed with animal life, and the Boer was constantly killing, he was, indeed, a sight to see. He was usually a little above the middle height, but lanky, raw-boned and awkwardly put together, and his head, under the grease-saturated, broad-brimmed hat, was crowned with a tangled mass of matted hair which, perchance, had never known the attentions of a comb. In the midst of a dirt-streaked face his eyes looked at you bleared and shifty, and, below, the lips, caked with dry tobacco-juice, stood out from a tangle of hair to which streaks of tobacco-juice gave a parti-colored aspect. His short coat, waistcoat and trousers, even his unbleached calico shirt, were covered throughout with stains and blotches of blood, which were also to be observed caked upon his hands and upon his home-made *veldtschoens*, while his sockless ankles were not distinguishable from the soil of his farm. Since the great herds of game have been killed off, these bloodstains are of course absent; but the improvement in cleanliness is, it is to be feared, more apparent than real. Other kinds of dirt have taken the place of the clotted blood. There was but little difference to be seen between those who possessed fairly large flocks and herds—the only form of wealth known to the Boers prior to the gold era—and those who were the most poverty-stricken.

The other sex were no less unclean in their persons, but the subject is really too unsavory to be dwelt upon. Neither men nor women ever washed themselves, as we understand it, the extent of their ablutions being each morning to pour a pint or so of water into a tin basin and with the help of a foul rag daub their faces with it, all the inhabitants of the house using the same water. On Saturday nights, a small tub was brought in, with a little water in it, and in this water, unchanged throughout, the same perfunctory operation was performed upon the feet, though this function was often omitted for weeks.

In their home life the same characteristics obtained. The Netherlands housewife, accustomed to her sweet-smelling rooms and snowy linen, would upon entering a Boer tenement start back in dismay at the offensive atmosphere which assailed her. Although so used to the healthy, open-air life of the wagon, Boers

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in their houses abjure the blessings of ventilation, and exist in an atmosphere which might be compared to that of a common lodging-house. At night, the men remove only their coats and waistcoats, and the women their cotton dresses, if even these. The houses of the less well-to-do, who of course were a large majority, often consisted of only one room, rarely indeed of three. In these houses there were frequently a dozen or more people. When there was only one room, the married couples occupied one end, cut off by a hanging screen of cotton material. The rest slept in a row upon the ground; first the young men above sixteen years of age, then the young women, and then the guests, the younger children huddling together in a corner. It would be quixotic to look for modesty or morality under such circumstances. No doubt, globe-trotters who have passed an hour or so in a few Boer houses of the better class since the influx of wealth to the Transvaal, will say this is an overdrawn picture; but, alas, the pigments are laid on with a hand so light that they do not depict the reality. The reality would not bear presentation.

Men of Mr. Stead's class, whose knowledge is apparently derived from a superfluous stock of sentimentality, try to persuade their readers and hearers that the Boers are a clean-living race, puritanical in their morals, and worthy on those grounds alone of our highest respect and admiration. It is not true. Immoral relations with their colored female dependents—whether they call them slaves, indentured apprentices, or hired servants—whatever they may be now, were but a few years ago so common as to be practically universal. I am not speaking at haphazard. My knowledge is derived from years of observation in many scores, nay, hundreds, of Boer houses. Apart from these immoralities, it must be said that the home life of the Boer was fairly pleasant. He had his differences with his wife; who has not? but, personally, I never saw these differences carried on any further than a wordy argument, conducted on both sides in high, shrill, falsetto voices. The women, in fact, accept the position of inferior mortals to their spouses. So far is this carried that they do not even eat together, the wife meekly waiting on her lord, and taking her own meal when he has finished. There does not appear to be much affection between them. They marry very young; but, after the first few months of wedlock, the unions look much more like affairs of convenience than

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of affection. Nor have they much apparent affection for their offspring. The women are careful enough in rearing them until they can toddle about by themselves, after which they are in receipt of more cuffs and shrill anathemas than demonstrations of affection. The men take scarcely any notice of their children until the boys are old enough to be of use, when they are speedily initiated into all that pertains to cattle, horses and wagons. Formerly, the lads learned to shoot almost before anything else; but, with the disappearance of the game that has become a thing of the past, the modern Boer lad knows little more about the use of firearms than does the London lad. Neither lad nor girl has any education. In many of the well-to-do houses there was to be found a schoolmaster, who was invariably an Englishman or Hollander who had failed in every other pursuit—generally, indeed, a broken-down drunkard; but the great majority were taught neither to read nor write, and of the adults of the Transvaal to-day I should be surprised to find that twenty per cent. can do so. The younger generation are no doubt better looked after.

Among themselves, Boers are quarrelsome to the last degree. No expedition or transaction was ever undertaken by them in which the leaders did not sooner or later break out into rancorous recriminations. From the time when, in Natal in 1838, Hendrik Potgieter quarrelled with the other leaders, Pieter Retief and Gert Maritz, and in the face of the enemy withdrew his commando from the operations against the Zulus, and when a year or two later, two, if not three, separate governments were set up by rival factions, it has been ever thus. In the hunting-field, quarrels as to the rightful ownership of animals killed are constant, and I have often seen them come to blows.

In their intercourse with strangers other than fellow-Boers, they are extremely overbearing. In my rides in the Transvaal and Orange Free State in connection with the acquisition of farms back in the sixties, during which I visited more Boer houses than I can reckon up, I often had to submit to language and manners that made my blood boil. Their standard of civility is a graduated one. The man with a wagon or two would always receive outward consideration; the man on horseback was tolerated; but the unfortunate on foot received the shortest possible shrift. This raises the question of their oft-asserted hospitality. Yes, they are hospitable in their own way; but of what people

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

living on farms widely apart, as they do, cannot the same thing be said? I have travelled as much as most men, throughout nearly every one of the Southern Colonies of Great Britain, in several European countries, and in remote districts of the British Isles, but I cannot call to mind meeting with absolute inhospitality anywhere, except from natives of what is now German East Africa, and, in lesser degree, in Gazaland. Will any one who knows both South Africa and Australia maintain that the Boers would for one moment tolerate the "sundowner," and erect special buildings for his reception, as the squatters do? The Boer is, in a way, a sociable creature, and a terrible gossip, and he is always glad of an opportunity of letting his tongue go, when he can do so without loss to what he considers his self-respect. A traveller who stops for an hour or two to rest his animals can always reckon on a cup of coffee and a good flow of words, or even a meal, if it should happen to be meal-time. Indeed, if he arrive in the evening he will be given a blanket and allowed to lie on the floor with the rest, if he is not with a wagon; but where in the world would such accommodation be refused? What a Boer will not do is to offer food at any other time than at the regular hour for a meal. I was once twenty-four hours without food through arriving at two houses after the meals had been cleared away. Leaving the first at daylight, I arrived at another about ten o'clock, and, explaining the matter to the owner, asked him to break the rule and allow me to have something to eat, as I was on a special mission, and could not wait for the mid-day meal. He went to his orchard, and picking off the ground, where they lay thick under the trees, a couple of peaches, placed them on a plate before me. I do not think he meant to be churlish, but "hospitality" is not quite the right word to apply to his act.

Lord Wolseley recently laid stress upon the honesty of the Boers. I do not know precisely what he meant, but in the matter of *meum* and *tuum* in respect of portable articles the reverse is the truth. I spent quite two years going about from farm to farm with wagon-loads of miscellaneous goods, bartering them for ostrich-feathers, ivory, hides, wool, live stock, or whatever I could get. I have elsewhere related my experiences on one of these expeditions, and must here confine myself to saying that I scarcely ever exposed samples of my goods at any farm without attempts being made to purloin articles that could be readily concealed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All took part in this, old and young, male and female; and constant watch had to be kept. I once detected a young girl, the daughter of a Boer who was then, and long afterward, a prominent member of the Free State Volksraad, trying to secrete a case of watches under her apron. No shame is evinced on detection; the matter is treated as a good subject for laughter. In purchasing horses and cattle, the greatest care has to be exercised. No London horse-coper could compete with the average Boer in the art of passing off broken-winded horses or sand-cracked trek oxen as sound animals. Dishonesty extends further still than to matters of this kind. A Boer, whose name is well known to the world, many years ago, when acting as President of a Land Commission for apportioning out farms in the Leydenberg District, "did" my partner out of 36,000 acres of land by as barefaced a piece of knavery as could well be conceived. Dishonesty and untruthfulness are twin brothers, and both are prominent features in the Boer character. He who relies upon the unsupported testimony of a Boer will most assuredly come to grief. It is not merely that the habit of exaggeration is a second nature to him, but that he has actually no conception of the nature of truth. He will say exactly what he conceives will best serve his ends in the matter he has in hand, without any reference whatever to what may happen to be the actual facts. Indeed, it is doubtful if his mind is able to take in the facts as they are. It is of that character that it colors the facts in accordance with his own desires and beliefs. The Boer has a habit of calling every defeat a great victory, and his doing so is not so much a deliberate attempt at deceiving, as it is the expression of a *bona fide* belief. He is so saturated with the conviction that he cannot be defeated that he is quite unable to appraise the facts at their true value. The conviction overrides all else, and in a mind capable of containing only one or two leading ideas, that of defeat can find no place. When he sees his dead and wounded strewn about the field, the sight does not convey to him any sense of disaster, for he is convinced that the loss on the other side must necessarily be three times as great.

I do not think there is any feature in the Boer character quite so distinctive as this ingrained disregard of truth, this absolute incapacity to understand the meaning of straightforwardness. It enters into their every transaction in life, from the smallest to the greatest. Whether it is in relating an experience in the hunt-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing-field, in selling a horse, a wagon or a farm, in giving evidence in a court of law, or in an affair of state, it is always present, and always glaringly obvious to the outsider. In their statecraft these traits must be clear to the most careless reader. The recent Blue Books afford ample evidence of them, but in Mr. Fitzpatrick's "Transvaal from Within" they are revealed to a degree that comes probably as a revelation to those who thought they had a fair knowledge of the Boer mind and method, but which to the sentimental Boerophile who knows nothing of them must be absolutely crushing.

We hear a great deal about the Boers' love for their country, and their willingness to shed the last drop of their blood in its defence. Those who talk thus know nothing whatever about the matter. The Boer has no country. He does not know the meaning of patriotism. He is a nomad by nature. One country is as good to him as another, if it serve his requirements. He is seldom on his farm for long, and is more happy when he takes his stock away to some distant winterveldt, and lives in his wagon, than when at home. If he is assured of getting better country for his stock on easier terms, or preferably on no terms at all, he is as ready to desert his own for good and all as he is to eat his breakfast. What he is fighting for is liberty, and he interprets liberty as did Cicero: "The essence of liberty is to do exactly as one chooses." The limitations to liberty he cannot understand. "The like liberty of all" is to him a meaningless string of words. That is his patriotism. The present war cannot properly be called a Boer-made war; it is a Krüger-made war, and a Hollander-made war. The average Boer hates the Britisher with lasting hatred; he despises him or, at all events, has persuaded himself that he despises him; but he is much too lazy and enervated a creature to deliberately set to work to drive the Britisher out of the country. All that has been driven into his weak mind by ambitious and designing men.

I must now come to one more leading feature in the Boer character, and one most disagreeable to dwell upon. The Boer is absolutely callous to suffering, whether in animals or in human beings. When we remember that, until a few years ago, the whole male population was constantly engaged in killing animals and skinning and cutting them up—were, in fact, practically a vast community of professional butchers—one can scarcely be sur-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prised that animal suffering raises no sentiment within them; but their cruelties to their fellow-creatures cannot but be regarded with astonishment. One can find in many books descriptions of their terrible savagery in the conduct of their wars with native tribes; but it is in the home life that they are seen at the worst, for there their cruelties are committed in cold blood. I have over and again seen slaves—they call them "indentured apprentices" when the Britisher makes inept inquiries—thrashed with hippopotamus-hide *sjamboks* with a degree of severity and savagery that would do no discredit to a Dervish, and that for the most trifling offences. They were usually spread-eagled to a wagon-wheel to receive this punishment, and sometimes the Boer would thrash until he could thrash no longer. White prisoners, especially if they should happen to be British, too, have often come into this kind of treatment. In 1866, I was eye-witness to a very bad case. It was in the Pongolo Bush. An English sawyer was charged with stealing a hatchet from a Boer. There was a field-cornet there, and this man, after hearing the Boer's complaint, caused the sawyer to be seized, had him fastened to a wagon-wheel, and ordered him to be given fifty lashes. The sawyer was then bound to a horse with his head on the rump, as we see in the pictures of Mazeppa, and sent in that position thirty miles through a blazing sun, to Wakkerstroom to be tried! I was shooting at the time, and was the only other Englishman in the district, and was powerless to prevent it.

The last Boer trait to which I can refer within the limits of this article is their alleged character as a deeply religious people. This is a very difficult matter to deal with in a few words. Not being what is called a religious man myself, I am a little in doubt as to what is meant by the claim made. The Boer I take to be a Deist more than a Christian. His Predikant in the churches may hold forth to him the Christian doctrines, but away from them his God is an authopomorphic God. He is in the first place the God of War, and in the second, God the Protector. The belief that the first and most acceptable, if not the only, business God has is to look after the interests of the Boer, I take to be absolutely sincere. Whether these fanatical persuasions can rightly be called beliefs is a question into which I cannot enter, beyond stating my own conviction that they are more hysterical in their nature than grounded on thought or reason. Hysterical or not,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Boer acts up to his belief. His God teaches him neither ethics nor morals; He is God the Warrior and God the Protector, and nothing more. He is the God of the Pentateuch, and therefore the Boer ethic is the ethic of the Jews in the Wilderness, supplemented by additions resulting from his peculiar life in the midst of wild animals and wilder men. How far his fanatical belief that he is God's special favorite enters into his life, apart from making him arrogant, is not easy to determine. He is regular in his observances of the forms of worship which his circumstances have created for him; but except in times of peril the influence of his religious belief is not otherwise traceable. His method of worship is lugubrious in the extreme. To the eye there is neither reverence, cheerfulness nor devotion in it. It is a thing of the lips, and full of dolefulness and gloom. When I have attended their Sabbath Bible readings—which are almost entirely confined to the Mosaic records—and psalm-singings in their own houses, I have always found myself getting depressed and moody, and have had to pinch myself to rouse myself to a realization of its unreality. It is like a nightmare. The solemnity is so stolid, the tone so monotonous, sing-song and gruesome, and the whole function so lifeless and soulless, that it is impossible to believe that there is any real feeling in it.

And what has made these strange people what they are? Consider their history. They are by nature a dissatisfied people. They left their original European homes because the conditions forced upon them were distasteful to them, and they left the Cape Colony because they could not endure the restraints advancing civilization imposed upon them. They entered a strange country, full of strange animals and stranger men. The men were hostile, savage and ruthless, and they had to be ever on the alert—in the protection of their own lives. Completely cut off from the world, they wandered about in their wagons for years upon years, homeless and friendless, and forever fighting the savage foes who occupied the country. Their horror of these foes grew upon them until they gradually came to regard them not as human beings, but as vermin to be exterminated on every opportune occasion. They had no consolations but their Old Testaments, and they read and reread these (for the overtrekkers were better educated than their offspring) until the similarity between the Jews in the Wilderness and themselves so impressed them that they slowly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

confounded the one with the other, and eventually became honestly convinced that it was they themselves who were God's chosen people. And thus they lived for decades, every family deprived of some of its members in the fight, and practically without any government or emblem of consolidation. They had no literature, no art, no music but a stray fiddle or harmonium, absolutely none of the requirements of existence. Their life became a sordid fight against their environments. They intermarried until the whole state became one vast family, and with this intermarriage their intellects grew debased. And thus they gradually lost much that makes man manly and attractive.

That with good government and under more civilized conditions, they are capable of better things is undoubted. Among the Boers of Natal (especially in the Umvoti District), of the Cape Colony, and even of certain districts of the Free State, I have met many Boers, who, though of a rather low order of intellect, and incapable of any achievements in the higher departments of our mental life, were in all other respects as high-toned, upright and courteous gentlemen as anyone would desire to meet. Rid the Transvaal of the incubus of its corrupt and incapable government, give it a well-considered constitution and supervision, and the Boer, though he can never rise very high among white races, will in the next generation be a very different man from what his circumstances have hitherto made him.

GEORGE LACY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A FILIPINO APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY APOLINARIO MABINI, FORMERLY PRIME MINISTER IN AGUINALDO'S CABINET.

ON the ninth of last May I ceased to participate in the government of my native land, because the National Assembly had deemed it expedient that others should take my place, in the hope that some compromise might thereby be arrived at which would put an end to the war between the United States and the Philippines in a manner friendly and honorable to both sides. The representatives of the American Government had previously found me at President Aguinaldo's side, at the head of the public business of the Philippines, in the capacity of Privy Councillor from June of last year, and as Prime Minister of the Cabinet provided by the Constitution from January of the present year. For this reason, and because I belong to the pure native race and have never been away from my country since my infancy, I know not only all the facts concerning the events which have taken place in the Philippines since the destruction of the Spanish fleet by Admiral Dewey, but also the real feelings of my people toward the people of the United States.

I am impelled to write, on the one hand, by the ardent desire to let the American people know the whole truth, which has perhaps been distorted by interested parties, and which alone can render complete justice to the Filipino people; and, on the other hand, by a no less urgent wish, inspired by feelings of humanity, to bring the present war to a close, and end the mutual destruction of two peoples who ought to make common cause in contributing to the consolidation of civilization and the progress of the world.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Before Admiral Dewey came to the Philippines with his fleet, he had a conference with General Aguinaldo; and after having assured the latter that the feelings of the American people were of the most friendly character, since the purpose of his Government was to aid the Filipinos, if they for their part would help in the war waged against the Spaniards for the independence of Cuba, he asked whether Aguinaldo considered himself strong enough to maintain order in the whole archipelago after the Spaniards were expelled. General Aguinaldo replied that he would answer not only for order and for his people, but also that the war should be carried on in accordance with the practice of civilized nations if he were provided with arms. On receiving this reply, the Admiral promised that Aguinaldo should be supplied with arms. He then started for Manila, in whose waters he gained a complete victory and destroyed the Spanish fleet.

After the victory, the Admiral discovered that all the Spanish land forces were concentrated in very considerable numbers and entrenched in Manila, Cavite, Tayabas, Laguna, Morong, Bulacan, Bataan and Panpanga, without counting small garrisons in other provinces; and he perceived the necessity of a respectable army to rout the Spaniards and occupy Manila and Cavite. For this reason he had to send the cruiser "McCullough" to Hong Kong for Aguinaldo, at the same time that he asked his Government for troops. Aguinaldo was received with the honors of a general by the Admiral, who renewed his former promises and delivered to him ninety-six rifles which were found in the arsenal at Cavite, authorizing him to establish himself in that port and to exercise authority over what he found there, with the exception of the arsenal, which was occupied by a small American force that had been landed. Aguinaldo found the houses in the port uninhabited and in ruins, and there was no one to keep order or look after the safety and interests of the citizens. Hence he was obliged to call upon the inhabitants to return and establish a local government under his supervision—which did not include the territory of the arsenal—and he then issued a manifesto to the people of the Philippines.

The Filipinos, who had been undecided, because they did not know whether the Americans were friends or enemies, welcomed the manifesto with joy, and, recognizing Aguinaldo as their in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disputable chief, each province began to overcome and capture the Spanish forces within its jurisdiction. This movement began at the end of May, 1898; and by the end of the following June the struggle was localized in the capitals of Manila, Batangas, Tayabas, Laguna, Morong, Bulacan, Pamanga and Tarlac, the Spanish forces occupying these towns being besieged in them. They were soon obliged to surrender to the Filipino forces and become their prisoners, the only exception being the garrison of Manila. Meanwhile, the Admiral congratulated Aguinaldo on his victories, allowed the landing of two thousand rifles which had been bought for the Filipinos with Hong Kong funds, permitted the Filipino vessels to sail with Filipino flags on Manila Bay, let Aguinaldo govern not only the reconquered provinces, but also the port of Cavite itself except the arsenal, handed over to him Spanish prisoners made by the American ships, and, lastly, referred to him the claims filed by Spanish merchants in regard to certain vessels captured from the Spaniards by the Filipinos.

Shortly after this, Anderson's brigade arrived at the Philippines. On landing at the port of Cavite, General Anderson notified Aguinaldo that he was the provisional chief of the American army until the arrival of General Merritt, and made in the name of his Government new protestations of friendship and aid in favor of the liberty of the Filipinos. But soon, under pretense that it was necessary to clean the streets and houses of the port so that the American soldiers then on the way might be decently lodged, and to prevent trouble and friction between the American and the Filipino soldiers, he took charge of the government of the port, and prohibited the Filipinos from going armed about the streets, while drunken Americans committed all sorts of assaults on the citizens. Aguinaldo, desirous of saving trouble and avoiding a rupture, moved on to Bacood, leaving a small force at the port, the command of which was entrusted to a general, whose orders were to avoid all conflict with the Americans and to advise the citizens to keep calm and cultivate feelings of concord and friendship. No sooner had General Anderson become aware of this than he seized a warehouse of naval stores, the property of a rich merchant in Cavite, which Aguinaldo had been entrusted to hold subject to the owner's orders.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After this General Merritt arrived, who in notifying Aguinaldo that he had come as Governor-General of the Philippines and Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, asked for firewood, carts, oxen and horses for his soldiers. Having issued a proclamation to the people of the Philippines, in which he reiterated the promises of friendship and assistance on the faith of a free people, he landed forces in Parañaque, a town held by the Filipinos, without informing Aguinaldo. There the American forces constructed a very extensive trench in the rear of the Filipinos to serve as a basis of operations, stationed themselves along the line through Maytubig, and seized many trenches constructed and occupied by the Filipinos.

Meanwhile, General Merritt was parleying, behind the backs of the Filipinos, with the Spanish garrison of Manila to induce them to surrender. The Spaniards, shut in on the land side by the Filipinos and threatened from the sea by the American ships, agreed to surrender on the first attack from Maytubig, provided the fleet would not bombard the city. Then General Merritt ordered his troops to attack by way of Maytubig without informing Aguinaldo.

Nevertheless, when the Filipino troops became aware of the aggressive action of the Americans, they moved forward in line with the advance guard to help those whom they believed to be their friends and allies. The Spaniards, who were also ignorant of the agreement made by their general, offered a furious resistance to the attack and directed their fire against the American troops, whom they hated more even than they hated the Filipinos. The Americans, perceiving that they were the targets for the Spanish bullets, fell in behind the Filipinos, whom they then allowed to advance. When the Spaniards saw that they would have to engage the Filipinos, they abandoned their positions, thinking, perhaps, and rightly, that if they had to give up the islands, the best they could do would be to give them up to their inhabitants, and that consequently further bloodshed was useless. Then the Americans advanced, seized the positions taken by the Filipinos and hoisted the American flag in the place of the Filipino banner. These manœuvres were repeated several times, until the American and Filipino advance guards reached the suburb of Hermita, when it became known that the capitulation had been signed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It was here that General Aguinaldo's tremendous prestige with the Filipinos was abundantly shown; for if it had not been for his peremptory order to avoid all conflict with the American troops, the Filipino army would not have suffered such injustice and the strife between them would have broken out then and there. But Aguinaldo, and with him the Filipino people, believed in the promises of friendship and liberty proclaimed by the American generals in the name of their Government and on the good faith of a free people.

To that effect General Aguinaldo wrote to General Merritt, complaining in friendly terms of the conduct observed toward the Filipinos. He remarked at the same time that it was not right for the Americans alone to profit by the victory, since most of the credit belonged to the Filipinos, who had shut in the Spainards. If it had not been for this blockade on the land side, he added, the Americans might have destroyed the city, but they could not have obliged the Spanish troops to surrender, because they could in the end have retreated to the interior of the island. I may say now that, thanks to that surrender, President McKinley succeeded in obtaining the cession of the Philippines by the treaty of Paris. Merritt's only reply was to ask for the withdrawal of the Filipino forces who had reached Hermita, Paco and Malate during the attack from Maytubig, which he did by sending Consul Williams as a semi-official emissary to tell Aguinaldo that General Merritt was furious at him for not having placed himself under the orders of the American generals according to agreement.

Finally, General Merritt departed and General Otis took his place. Immediately upon taking charge, the latter demanded the evacuation by the Filipino forces, not only of Hermita, Paco and Malate, but also of Pandacan, which is a town not comprised in the municipality of Manila, giving as a reason that these places were included in the capitulation of Manila and its defenses. Aguinaldo yielded to these demands, sacrificing everything to maintain friendly relations; and, believing that he would obtain justice from the American Government, he sent to Washington, as his envoy, Don Felipe Agoncillo, with instructions to lay before President McKinley the grievances of the Filipinos and to ask for the recognition of the independence of the Philippines, in fulfilment of the promises made by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American generals. Agoncillo was not received by the President, nor heard by the American Commission in Paris.

In the meantime Admiral Dewey seized the Filipino launches in Manila Bay, the very launches that he had permitted to sail under the Filipino flag. In the waters of Batangas he also captured the steamer "Abbey," which had been bought by the Filipinos for the transportation of arms. This was the steamer that had landed at Cavite the two thousand rifles on its first expedition. When Aguinaldo sent a commissioner to ask for an explanation of these captures, the Admiral became very angry, refused to give any explanation whatever, and dismissed the Filipino commissioner like a servant who had committed great faults. Even Mayor Bell, who had accompanied the commissioner, went away greatly disgusted with so strange a reception.

What did Aguinaldo do then? In order to avoid a conflict which was becoming inevitable, in view of the more and more incomprehensible conduct of the American commanders, he appointed a commission to draw up a *modus vivendi* with General Otis pending the conclusion of the treaty of Paris and the decision of the American Congress as to the fate of the Philippines.

Seeing that Agoncillo had not been successful in his endeavors, Aguinaldo sent to America another commission, composed of Agoncillo, General Riego de Diós, Luna, Lozada and others. The first commission had been without result, as the one appointed by General Otis to meet it expressed itself very vaguely and alleged that it had not received any authority from Washington and could not therefore accept any of the propositions of the Filipino commissioners. The second commission had hardly set foot on American soil when the conflict broke out, which we had tried to avoid by the sacrifice of many rights and at the cost of great humiliation.

The Americans say that the Filipinos provoked the hostilities, an assertion which the facts I have related clearly disprove. If the Filipinos had wished hostilities, they could have begun immediately after the capitulation of Manila, because at that time their troops occupied the suburbs of Hermita, Malate and Paco, the town of Pandacan and a part of the suburb of Tondo. Besides, there were very few American troops in Manila. Moreover, the Filipino commissioners in America must have known something of our intentions, and we would not have made it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

necessary for them to leave that country like escaped criminals, for we would not have had the heart to expose them to the wrath of the American Government and its agents. Finally, General Ricarte, who commanded the Filipino troops that occupied the outskirts of Manila, was at Malolos conferring with General Aguinaldo on the night when the conflict broke out.

The truth is that the Filipino people have never felt disposed to measure their strength with powerful America, otherwise Aguinaldo could not have put up with so many infamous actions at the hands of the American generals. They have always considered themselves little and insignificant beside the American people, and hence they never thought of provoking the Americans, for they have always been aware that, even if they should gain a few victories, the fortunes of war would necessarily change as soon as reinforcements arrived from America.

And it is still more true that the Filipino people, educated by long sufferings during the protracted dominion of Spain, have learned to reflect and to judge things calmly, even in the midst of great excitement. They know that, no matter how great and civilized a people may be, it contains bad men as well as good men; and, therefore, they do not condemn all. For the same reason, they admire the bravery shown by the American army in the recent fights; they still entertain, unalterably, that friendship toward the American people which places them above all other nations; they trust that the popular Government of America will not sink to the level of the theocratic Government of Spain, and that the spirit of justice, now obscured by ambition, will again shine in their firmament, as the civic virtues of their ancestors shine in their history and traditions.

The Filipino people are struggling in defense of their liberties and independence with the same tenacity and perseverance as they have shown in their sufferings. They are animated by an unalterable faith in the justice of their cause, and they know that if the American people will not grant them justice, there is a Providence which punishes the crimes of nations as well as of individuals.

APOLINARIO MABINI.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LETTERS OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

BY HENRY JAMES.

It was the happy fortune of Robert Louis Stevenson to have created, beyond any man of his craft in our day, a body of readers inspired with the feelings that we, for the most part, place at the service only of those for whom our affection is personal. There was no one who knew the man, one may safely assert, who was not also devoted to the writer; conforming in this respect to a general law—if law it be—that shows us many exceptions: but, naturally and not inconveniently, it had to remain far from true that all devotees of the writer were able to approach the man. The case was, nevertheless, that the man, somehow, approached *them*, and that to read him—certainly to read him with the full sense of his charm—came, for many people, to mean much the same as to "meet" him. It was as if he wrote himself altogether, rose straight to the surface of his prose, and still more of his happiest verse; so that these things gave out, besides whatever else, his look and his voice, showed his life and manners, his affairs and his very secrets. In short, we grew to possess him entire; and the example is the more curious and beautiful, as he neither made a business of "confession" nor cultivated most those forms through which the *ego* shines. His great successes were supposititious histories of persons quite different from himself, and the objective, as we have learned to call it, was the ideal to which he oftenest sacrificed.

The effect of it all, none the less, was such that his Correspondence has only seemed to administer, delightfully, a further push to a door already half open and through which we enter with an extraordinary absence of the sense of intrusion. We feel, indeed, that we are living with him; but what is that but what we were doing before? Through his Correspondence, indeed, the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ego does, magnificently, shine—which is much the best thing that, in any correspondence, it can ever do. But even the "Vailima Letters," published by Mr. Sidney Colvin in 1895, had already both established that and allayed our diffidence.

"It came over me the other day suddenly that this diary of mine to you would make good pickings after I am dead, and a man could make some kind of book out of it without much trouble. So, for God's sake, don't lose them."

Being on these terms with our author, and feeling as if we had always been, we profit by freedoms that seem but the consecration of intimacy. Not only have we no sense of intrusion, but we are so prepared to penetrate further that when we come to limits we quite feel as if the story were mutilated and the copy not complete. There it is precisely that we seize the secret of our tie. Of course, it was personal, for how did it operate, in any connection whatever, but to make us live with him? We had lived with him in "Treasure Island," in "Kidnapped" and in "Catriona," just as we do, by the light of these posthumous volumes, in the South Seas and at Vailima; and our present confidence comes from the fact of a particularly charming continuity. It is not that his novels were "subjective," but that his life was romantic, and in the very same degree in which his own conception, his own presentation, of that element touches and thrills. If we want to know even more, it is because we are always, everywhere, in the story.

To this absorbing extension of the story, then, the two volumes of Letters* now published by Mr. Sidney Colvin beautifully contribute. The shelf of our library that contains our best letter-writers is considerably furnished, but not overcrowded; and its glory is not too great to keep Stevenson from finding there a place with the very first. He will not figure among the writers—those to whom we are apt to give, in this line, precedence—to whom only small things happen, and who fascinate us by making the most of them; he belongs to the class who have both matter and manner, whom life carries swiftly before it, and who communicate and signal as they go. He lived to the topmost pulse; and the last thing that was to happen was that he should find himself, on any occasion, with nothing to recount. Of all that he may have

* "The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson to his Family and Friends. Selected and Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by Sidney Colvin." New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uttered on certain occasions, we are, inevitably, not here possessed —a fact that, as I have hinted above, affects us, perversely, as an inexcusable gap in the story; but he never fails of the thing that we most love letters for, the full expression of the moment and the mood, the actual good or bad or middling, the thing in his head, his heart or his house. Mr. Colvin has given us an admirable "Introduction"—a characterization of his friend so founded at once on knowledge and on judgment that the whole sense of the man strikes us as extracted in it. He has elucidated each group or period with notes that leave nothing to be desired; and nothing remains, that I can think of, to thank him for, unless the intimation that we may yet look for another volume—which, however much more free it might make us of the author's history, we should accept, I repeat, with the same absence of scruple. Nothing comes up oftener to-day than the question of the rights of privacy; of our warrant, or want of warrant, for getting behind, by the aid of editors or other retailers, certain appearances of distinction; and the general knot in the business is, indeed, a hard one to untie; yet it strikes me as a matter regarding which such publications as Mr. Colvin's have much to suggest.

There is no absolute privacy—save, of course, when the deceased may have wished or endeavored positively to constitute it; and things too sacred are often only things that are not, in that degree, anything else that is superior. One may hold both that people—that artists perhaps in particular—are well advised to cover their tracks, and yet that our having gone, or not, behind, in a particular case, may be a small affair compared with our having really found something. Personal records of the type before us can, at any rate, obviously, be but the reverse of a deterrent to the pushing inquirer. They are too happy an instance—they positively make for revelations. Stevenson never covered his tracks, and the tracks prove, perhaps, to be what most attaches us. We follow them here, from year to year and from stage to stage, with the same charmed sense with which he has made us follow one of his hunted heroes in the heather. Life and fate and an early catastrophe were ever at his heels, and when he at last falls fighting, sinks down in the very act of valor, the "happy ending," as he calls it for some of his correspondents, is, though precipitated and not conventional, assuredly there.

His descent and his origin all contribute to the picture, which,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it seems to me, could scarce—since we speak of "endings"—have had a better beginning had he himself prearranged it. Without his having prearranged it, indeed, it was such a matter as could never be wasted on him, one of the innumerable things, Scotch and other, that helped to fill his romantic consciousness. Edinburgh, in the first place, the "romantic town," was as much his "own" as it ever was the great precursor's whom, in "Weir of Hermiston" as well as elsewhere, he presses so hard; and this even in spite of continual absence—in virtue of a constant, imaginative reference and an intense, intellectual possession. The immediate background formed by the profession of his family—the charge of the lights on northern coasts—was a setting that he could not have seen his way to better; while no less happy a condition was met by his being all lonely in his father's house—the more that the father, admirably commemorated by the son and in his way as strongly marked, was antique and strenuous, and that the son, a genius to be, and delicate, was (in the words of the charming anecdote of an Edinburgh lady retailed in one of these volumes), if not exactly what could be called bonny, "pale, penetrating and interesting." The poet in him had, from the first, to be pacified—temporarily, that is, and from hand to mouth, as is the way for poets; so that, with friction and tension playing their part, with the filial relation quite classically troubled, with breaks of tradition and lapses from faith, with restless excursions and sombre returns, with the love of life at large mixed, in his heart, with every sort of local piety and passion, and the unjustified artist fermenting, on top of all, in the recusant engineer, he was as well started as possible toward the character he was to keep.

All this, obviously, however, was the sort of thing that the story, as most generally approved, would have had at heart to represent as the mere wild oats of a slightly uncanny cleverness—as handsomely reconciled, in time, to the usual scheme and crowned, after an amusing fling or two, with young wedded love and civic responsibility. The actual story, alas, was to transcend the conventional one, for it happened to be a case of a hero of too long a wind and too well turned out for his part. Everything was right for the discipline of Alan Fairford, but that the youth *was*, after all, a phœnix. As soon as it became a case of justifying himself for straying—as in the enchanting "Inland Voyage" and "Travels with a Donkey"—how was he to escape doing so with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

supreme felicity? The fascination in him, from the first, is the mixture, and the extraordinary charm of his letters is that they are always showing this. It is the proportions, moreover, that are so admirable—the quantity of each different thing that he fitted to each other one, and to the whole. The free life would have been all his dream, if so large a part of it had not been that love of letters, of expression and form, which is but another name for the life of service. Almost the last word about him, by the same law, would be that he had, at any rate, supremely written, were it not that he seems still better characterized by his having at any rate supremely lived.

Perpetually and exquisitely amusing as he was, his ambiguities and compatibilities yielded, for all the wear and tear of them, endless "fun" even to himself; and no one knew so well with what linked diversities he was saddled, or—to put it the other way—how many horses he had to drive at once. It took his own delightful talk to show how more than absurd it might be, and, if convenient, how very obscurely so, that such an incurable rover should have been complicated both with such an incurable scribbler and such an incurable invalid, and that a man should find himself such an anomaly as a drenched yachtsman haunted with "style," a shameless Bohemian haunted with duty, and a victim at once of the personal hunger and instinct for adventure and of the critical, constructive, sedentary view of it. He had everything all round—adventure most of all; to feel which we have only to turn from the beautiful flush of it in his text to the scarce less beautiful vision of the great hilltop in Pacific seas to which, after death, he was borne by islanders and chiefs. Fate, as if to distinguish him as handsomely as possible, seemed to be ever treating him to some chance for an act or a course that had almost nothing in its favor but its inordinate difficulty. If the difficulty was, in these cases, not *all* the beauty for him, it at least never prevented his finding in it—or our finding, at any rate, as observers—so much beauty as comes from a great risk accepted either for an idea or for simple joy. The joy of risks, the more personal the better, was never far from him, any more than the excitement of ideas. The most important step in his life was a signal instance of this, as we may discern in the light of "The Amateur Emigrant" and "Across the Plains," the picture of the conditions in which he fared from England to California to be married. Here, as always, the great

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

note is the heroic mixture—the thing he *saw,* morally as well as imaginatively; action and performance, at any cost, and the cost made immense by want of health and want of money, illness and anxiety of the extremest kind, and by unsparing sensibilities and perceptions. He had been launched into the world for a fighter with the organism of, say, a "composer," though, also, it must be added, with a beautiful saving sanity.

It is doubtless after his settlement in Samoa that his letters have most to give, but there are things they throw off from the first that strike the note above all characteristic, show his imagination always at play, for drollery or philosophy, with his circumstances. The difficulty in writing of him under the personal impression is to suggest enough how directly his being the genius that he was, kept counting in it. In 1879 he writes from Monterey to Mr. Edmund Gosse, in reference to certain grave symptoms of illness:

"I may be wrong, but . . . I believe I must go. . . . But death is no bad friend; a few aches and gasps, and we are done; like the truant child, I am beginning to grow weary and timid in this big, jostling city, and could run to my nurse, even although she should have to whip me before putting me to bed."

This charming renunciation expresses itself at the very time his talent was growing finer; he was so fond of the sense of youth and the idea of play that he saw whatever happened to him in images and figures, in the terms, almost, of the sports of childhood.

"Are you coming over again to see me some day soon? I keep returning, and now hand over fist, from the realms of Hades. I saw that gentleman between the eyes, and fear him less after each visit. Only Charon and his rough boatmanship I somewhat fear."

This fear remained with him, sometimes greater, sometimes less, during the first years after his marriage, those spent abroad and in England in health resorts, and it marks constantly, as one may say, one end of the range of his humor—the humor always busy at the other end with the impatience of timidities and precautions, and the vision and invention of essentially open-air situations. It was the possibility of the open-air situation that at last appealed to him as the cast worth staking all for—as to which, as usual, in his admirable rashnesses, he was extraordinarily justified.

"No man but myself knew all my bitterness in those days. Remember that, the next time you think I regret my exile. . . . Remember the pallid brute that lived in Skerryvore like a weevil in a biscuit."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He found, after a wonderful, adventurous quest, the treasure island, the climatic paradise that met, that enhanced, his possibilities; and with this discovery was ushered in his completely full and rich period, the time in which—as the wondrous whimsicality and spontaneity of his correspondence testify—his genius and his character most overflowed. He had done as well for himself in his appropriation of Samoa as if he had done it for the hero of a novel, only with the complications and braveries actual and palpable. "I have no more hope in anything"—and this in the midst of magnificent production—"than a dead frog; I go into everything with a composed despair, and don't mind—just as I always go to sea with the conviction I am to be drowned, and like it before all other pleasures." He could go to sea as often as he liked and not be spared such hours as one of these pages vividly evokes—those of the joy of fictitious composition in an otherwise prostrating storm, amid the crash of the elements and with his grasp of his subject, but too needfully sacrificed, it might have appeared, to his clutch of seat and inkstand.

"If only I could secure a violent death, what a fine success! I wish to die in my boots; no more Land of Counterpane for me. To be drowned, to be shot, to be thrown from a horse—aye, to be hanged, rather than pass again through that slow dissolution."

He speaks in one of the "Vailima Letters," Mr. Colvin's publication of 1895, to which it is one of the offices of these volumes promptly to make us return, of one of his fictions as a "long, tough yarn with some pictures of the manners of to-day in the greater world—not the shoddy, sham world of cities, clubs and colleges, but the world where men still live a man's life." That is distinct, and in the same letter he throws off a summary of all that, in his final phase, satisfied and bribed him, which is as significant as it is racy. His correspondent, as was inevitable now and then for his friends at home, appears to have indulged in one of those harmless pointings of the moral—as to the distant dangers he *would* court—by which we all were more or less moved to relieve ourselves of the depressed consciousness that he could do beautifully without us, and that our collective tameness was far (which indeed was distinctly the case) from forming his proper element. There is no romantic life for which something amiable has not to be sweepingly sacrificed, and of *us,* in our inevitable category, the sweep, practically, was clean.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Your letter had the most wonderful 'I told you so' I ever heard in the course of my life. Why, you madman, I wouldn't change my present installation for any post, dignity, honor, or advantage conceivable to me. It fills the bill; I have the loveliest time. And as for wars and rumors of wars, you surely know enough of me to be aware that I like that also a thousand times better than decrepit peace in Middlesex. I do not quite like politics. I am too aristocratic, I fear, for that. God knows I don't care who I chum with; perhaps like sailors best; but to go round and sue and sneak to keep a crowd together—never."

His categories satisfied him; he had got hold of "the world where men still live a man's life"—which was not, as we have just seen, that of "cities, clubs and colleges." He was supremely suited, in short, at last—at the cost, of course, of simplifications of view that, intellectually, he failed quite exactly (it was one of his few limitations) to measure; but in a way that ministered to his rare capacity for growth, and placed in supreme relief his affinity with the universal romantic. It was not that anything could ever be, for him, plain sailing, but that, at forty, he had been able to turn his life into the fairy tale of achieving, in a climate that he somewhere describes as "an expurgated heaven," such a happy physical consciousness as he had never known. This enlarged, in every way, his career, opening the door still wider to that real puss-in-the-corner game of opposites by which we have, critically, the interest of seeing him perpetually agitated Let me repeat that these new volumes, from the date of his definite expatriation, direct us, for the details of the picture, constantly to the "Vailima Letters;" with as constant an effect of our thanking our fortune—to say nothing of his own—that he should have had in these years a correspondent and a confidant who so beautifully drew him out. If he possessed in Mr. Sidney Colvin his literary *chargé d'affaires* at home, the ideal friend and *alter ego* on whom he could unlimitedly rest, this is a proof the more—with the general rarity of such cases—of what it was in his nature to make people wish to do for him. To Mr. Colvin he is more familiar than to any one, more whimsical and natural and, frequently, more inimitable—of all of which a just notion can be given only by abundant citation. And yet citation itself is embarrassed, with nothing to guide it but his perpetual spirits, perpetual acuteness and felicity, play of fancy and of wisdom. These things make him jump from pole to pole and fairly hum, at times, among the objects and subjects that filled his air, as a charged bee among flowers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He is never more delightful than when he is most egotistic, most consciously charmed with something he has done.

"And the papers are some of them up to dick, and no mistake. I agree with you, the lights seem a little turned down."

When we learn that the articles alluded to are those collected in "Across the Plains," we quite assent to this impression made by them after a troubled interval, and envy the author who, in a far Pacific isle, could see "The Lantern Bearers," "A Letter to a Young Gentleman" and "*Pulvis et Umbra*" float back to him as a guarantee of his faculty and between covers constituting the book that is really to live. Stevenson's masculine wisdom, moreover, his remarkable final sanity, is always—and it was not what made least in him for happy intercourse—close to his comedy and next door to his slang.

"And however low the lights are, the stuff is true, and I believe the more effective; after all, what I wish to fight is the best fought by a rather cheerless presentation of the truth. The world must return some day to the word 'duty,' and be done with the word 'reward.' There are no rewards, and plenty duties. And the sooner a man sees that and acts upon it, like a gentleman or a fine old barbarian, the better for himself."

It would, perhaps, be difficult to quote a single paragraph giving more than this of the whole of him. But there is abundance of him in this too:

"How do journalists fetch up their drivel? . . . It has taken me two months to write 45,500 words; and, be damned to my wicked prowess, I am proud of the exploit! . . . A respectable little five-bob volume, to bloom unread in shop windows. After that I'll have a spank at fiction. And rest? I shall rest in the grave, or when I come to Italy. If only the public will continue to support me! I lost my chance not dying; there seems blooming little fear of it now. I worked close on five hours this morning; the day before, close on nine; and unless I finish myself off with this letter I'll have another hour and a half, or *aiblins twa*, before dinner. Poor man, how you must envy me as you hear of these orgies of work, and you scarce able for a letter. But Lord! Colvin, how lucky the situations are not reversed, for I have no situation, nor am fit for any. Life is a steigh brae. Here, have at Knappe, and no more clavers!"

If he talked profusely—and this is perfect talk—if he loved to talk, above all, of his work in hand, it was because, though perpetually frail, he was never inert, and did a thing, if he did it at all, with passion. He was not fit, he says, for a situation, but a situation overtook him inexorably at Vailima, and doubtless at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

last, indeed, swallowed him up. His position, with differences, comparing, in some respects, smaller things to greater, and with fewer differences, after all, than likenesses, his position resembles that of Scott at Abbotsford, just as, sound, sensible and strong, on each side, in spite of the immense gift of dramatic and poetic vision, the earlier and the later man had something of a common nature. Life became bigger, for each, than the answering effort could meet, and in their death they were not divided. Stevenson's late emancipation was, after all, a fairy tale only because he himself was, in his manner, a magician. He liked to touch many matters and to shrink from none; nothing can exceed the impression we get of the things that, in these years, he dealt with, from day to day, as they came up, and the things that, as well, almost without order or relief, he planned and invented, took up and talked of and dropped, took up and talked of and carried through. Had I space to treat myself to a clue for selection from the whole record, there is nothing I should better like it to be than a tracking of his "literary opinions" and literary projects, the scattered swarm of his views, sympathies, antipathies, *obiter dicta,* as an artist—his flurries and fancies, imaginations, evocations, quick infatuations, as a teller of possible tales. Here is a whole little circle of discussion; but this is a circle in which to engage one's self at all is to be too much engulfed.

His overflow on such matters is, meanwhile, amusing enough as mere spirits and sport—interesting as it would yet be to catch as we might, at different moments, the congruity between the manner of his feeling a fable in the germ and that of his afterward handling it. There are passages, again and again, that light, strikingly, what I should call his general conscious method in his relation, were I not more tempted to call it his conscious—for that is what it seems to come to—want of method. A whole delightful letter (to Mr. Colvin, February 1, 1892) is a vivid type. (This letter, I may mention, is independently notable for the drollery of its allusion to a sense of scandal—of all things in the world—excited in some editorial breast by "The Beach of Falesà;" which leads him to the eminently pertinent remark that "this is a poison bad world for the romancer, this Anglo-Saxon world; I usually get out of it by not having any women in it at all." Then he remembers he had "The Treasure of Franchard" refused as unfit for a family magazine and feels—as well he may—"despair weigh

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon his wrists." The despair haunts him and comes out on another occasion. "Five more chapters of David. . . . All love affair; seems pretty good to me. Will it do for the young person? I don't know: since the Beach, I know nothing except that men are fools and hypocrites, and I know less of them than I was fond enough to fancy.") A part of his physiognomy, always, is the particularly salient play of his shades of feeling, the way his spirits are set off by his melancholy, and his brave conclusions by his rueful doubts.

He communicates, to his confidant, with the eagerness of a boy, in holidays, confabulating over a Christmas charade; but I remember no instance of his expressing a subject, as one may say, *as* a subject—hinting at what novelists mainly know, I imagine, as the determinant thing in it, the idea out of which it springs. The form, the envelope, is there with him, headforemost, *as* the idea; titles, names, that is, chapters, sequences, orders, while we are still asking ourselves how it was that he primarily put to his own mind what it was all to be about. He simply *felt* this, evidently, and it is always the one dumb sound, the only inarticulate thing, in all his contagious candor. He finds, none the less, in the letter to which I refer, one of the problems of the wonderful projected "Sophia Scarlet" "exactly a Balzac one, and I wish I had his fist—for I have already a better method—the kinetic—whereas he continually allowed himself to be led into the static." There we have him—Stevenson, not Balzac—at his most overflowing; and, after all, radiantly capable of conceiving at another moment that his "better method" would have been none at all for Balzac's vision of a subject—least of all, of *the* subject, the whole of life. Balzac's method was adapted to his notion of presentation—which we may accept, it strikes me, under the protection of what he presents. Were it not, in fine, as I may repeat, to embark in a bigger boat than would here turn round, I might note further that Stevenson has elsewhere—was disposed in general to have—too short a way with this master. There is an interesting passage in which he charges him with having never known what to leave out, a passage which has its bearing on condition of being read with due remembrance of the class of performance to which *"Le Colonel Chabert,"* for instance, *"Le Curé de Tours," "L'Interdiction," "La Messe de l'Athée"* (to name but a few brief masterpieces) belong.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These, however, are comparatively small questions; *the* impression, for the reader of the later letters, is simply one of singular beauty—of deepening talent, of happier and richer expression, and, above all, of a sort of ironic, desperate gallantry, burning away, with a finer and finer fire, in a strange, alien air and only the more touching to us from his own resolute consumption, as it were, of the smoke. He had incurred great charges, he sailed a ship loaded to the brim, so that the strain under which he lived and wrought was immense; but the very grimness of it all is sunny, slangy, funny, familiar; there is as little of the effusive in his twinges of melancholy as of the priggish in his moments of moralizing. His wisdom on matters of art had sometimes, I think, its lapses, but on matters of life was really winged and inspired. He has a soundness, in this quarter, a soundness all liberal and easy and born of the manly experience, that it is a luxury to touch. There are no compunctions, nor real impatiences, for he had, in a singular degree, got what he wanted, the life absolutely discockneyfied, the situation as romantically "swagger" as if it had been an imagination made real; but his practical anxieties necessarily spin themselves finer, and it is just this production of the thing imagined that has more and more to meet them. It all hung, the situation, by *that* beautiful, golden thread, the swinging of which in the wind, as he spins it in alternate doubt and elation, we watch with much of the suspense and pity with which we sit at the serious drama. It is serious in the extreme; yet the forcing of production, in the case of a faculty so beautiful and delicate, affects us almost as the straining of a nerve or the distortion of a limb.

"I sometimes sit and yearn for anything in the nature of an income that would come in—mine has all got to be gone and fished for with the immortal mind of man. What I want is the income that really comes in of itself, while all you have to do is just to blossom and exist and sit on chairs. . . . I should probably amuse myself with works that would make your hair curl, if you had any left."

To read over some of his happiest things, to renew one's sense of the extraordinarily fine temper of his imagination, is to say to one's self, "What a horse to have to ride every week to market!" We must all go to market, but the most fortunate of us, surely, are those who may drive thither, and on days not too frequent, nor by a road too rough, a ruder and homelier animal. He touches in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more than one place—and with notable beauty and real authority in that little mine of felicities, the "Letter to a Young Gentleman" —on the conscience for "frugality" which should be the artist's finest point of honor; so that one of his complications here was, doubtless, the sense that, on this score, his position had inevitably become somewhat false. The literary romantic is by no means necessarily expensive; but of the many ways in which the practical, the active, has to be paid for, this departure from frugality would be, it is easy to conceive, not the least. And we perceive his recognizing this as he recognized everything—if not in time, then out of it; accepting inconsistency, as he always did, with the gayety of a man of courage—not being, that is, however intelligent, priggish for logic and the grocer's book any more than for anything else. Only everything made for keeping it up; and it was a great deal to keep up; though when he throws off "The Ebb-Tide" and rises to "Catriona," and then again to "Weir of Hermiston," as if he could rise to almost anything, we breathe anew and look longingly forward. The latest of these letters contain such admirable things, testify so to the reach of his intelligence and vibrate so, in short, with genius and charm, that we feel him at moments not only unexhausted but replenished, and capable, perhaps, for all we know to the contrary, of new experiments and deeper notes. The intelligence is so great that he loses nothing; not a gossamer thread of the "thought of the time" that, wafted to him on the other side of the globe, may not be caught in a branch and played with; he puts such a soul into nature and such human meanings, for comedy and tragedy, into what surrounds him, however shabby or short, that he really lives in society by living in his own perceptions and generosities, or, as we say nowadays, his own atmosphere. In this atmosphere—which seems to have had the gift of abounding the more it was breathed by others—these pages somehow prompt us to see almost every object on his tropic isle bathed and refreshed.

So far, at any rate, from growing thin for want of London, he can transmit to London, or to its neighborhood, communications such as it would scarce know otherwise where to seek. A letter to his cousin, Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson, of September, 1894, touches so on all things, and, as he would himself have said, so adorns them, brimming over with its happy extravagance of thought, that, far from our feeling Vailima, in the light of it, to be out of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

world, it strikes us that the world has moved for the time to Vailima. There is world enough everywhere, he quite unconsciously shows, for the individual, the right one, to be what we call a man of it. He has, like every one not convenienced with the pleasant back-door of stupidity, to make his account with seeing and facing more things, seeing and facing everything, with the unrest of new impressions and ideas, the loss of the fond complacencies of youth.

"But as I go on in life, day by day, I become more of a bewildered child; I cannot get used to this world, to procreation, to heredity, to sight, to hearing; the commonest things are a burthen. The prim obliterated polite face of life, and the broad, bawdy and orgiastic—or mænadic—foundations, form a spectacle to which no habit reconciles me; and 'I could wish my days to be bound each to each' by the same open-mouthed wonder. They *are* anyway, and whether I wish it or not. . . . I remember very well your attitude to life—this conventional surface of it. You have none of that curiosity for the social stage directions, the trivial *ficelles* of the business; it is simian; but that is how the wild youth of man is captured."

The whole letter is enchanting.

"But no doubt there is something great in the half success that has attended the effort of turning into an emotional region Bald Conduct without any appeal, or almost none, to the figurative, mysterious and constitutive facts of life. Not that conduct is not constitutive, but dear! it's dreary! On the whole, conduct is better dealt with on the cast-iron 'gentleman' and duty formula, with as little fervor and poetry as possible; stoical and short."

The last letter of all, it will have been abundantly noted, has, with one of those characteristically thrown-out references to himself that were always half a whim, half a truth, and all a picture, a remarkable premonition. It is addressed to Mr. Edmund Gosse:

"It is all very well to talk of renunciation, and of course it has to be done. But for my part, give me a roaring toothache! I do like to be deceived and to dream, but I have very little use for either watching or meditation. I was not born for age. . . . I am a childless, rather bitter, very clear-eyed, blighted youth. I have, in fact, lost the path that makes it easy and natural for you to descend the hill. I am going at it straight. And where I have to go down it is a precipice. . . . You can never write another dedication that can give the same pleasure to the vanished Tusitala."

Two days later he met his end in the happiest form, by the straight, swift bolt of the gods. It was, as all his readers know, with an admirable, unfinished thing in hand, scarce a quarter written—a composition as to which his hopes were, presumably

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with much justice and as they were by no means always, of the highest. Nothing is more interesting than the rich way in which, in "Weir of Hermiston" and "Catriona," the predominant imaginative Scot reasserts himself after gaps and lapses, distractions and deflections superficially extreme. There are few backward jumps, in this order, surely, more joyous and *à pieds joints,* or of a kind more interesting to a critic. The imaginative vision is hungry and tender just in proportion as the actual is otherwise beset; so that we must sigh always in vain for the quality that this purified flame, as we call it, would have been able to give the metal. And how many things, to the critic, the case suggests—how many possible reflections cluster about it and seem to take light from it! It was "romance" indeed, "Weir of Hermiston," we feel, as we see it only grow in assurance and ease as the reach to it, across all the spaces, becomes more positively artificial. The case is *literary,* with intensity, and, given the nature of the talent, only thereby the more beautiful: he embroiders in silk and silver—in defiance of climate and nature, of near every aspect, and with such another antique needle as was nowhere, least of all in those latitudes, to be bought—in the intervals of wondrous international and insular politics and of fifty material cares and complications. His special stock of association, most personal style and most unteachable trick fly away again to him like so many strayed birds to nest, each with the flutter, in its beak, of some scrap of document or legend, some fragment of picture or story, to be retouched, revarnished and reframed.

These things he does with a gusto, moreover, for which, after all, his literary treatment of the islands and the island life had ever vainly waited. Curious enough that his years of the tropics and his fraternity with the natives never drew from him any such "rendered" view as might have been looked for in advance. For the absent and vanished Scotland he *has* the image—within the limits (too narrow ones, we may perhaps judge) admitted by his particular poetic; but the law of these things, in him, was, as of many others, amusingly, conscientiously perverse. The Pacific, in which he materially delighted, made him, "descriptively," serious and even rather dry; with his own country, on the other hand, materially impossible, he was ready infinitely to play. He easily sends us back again here to our vision of his mixture. There was only one thing on earth that he loved as much as literature—which was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the total absence of it; and to the present, the immediate, whatever it was, he always made the latter offering. Samoa was susceptible of no "style"—none of that, above all, with which he was most conscious of an affinity—save the demonstration of its rightness for life; and this left the field abundantly clear for the Border, the Great North Road and the eighteenth century. I have been reading over "Catriona" and "Weir" with the purest pleasure with which we can follow a man of genius—that of seeing him abound in his own sense. In "Weir" especially, like an improvising pianist, he superabounds and revels, and his own sense, by a happy stroke, appeared likely never more fully and brightly to justify him; to have become even in some degree a new sense, with new chords and possibilities. It is the "old game," but it is the old game that he exquisitely understands. The figure of Hermiston is creative work of the highest order, those of the two Kirsties, especially that of the elder, scarce less so; and we ache for the loss of a thing which could give out such touches as the quick joy, at finding herself in falsehood, of the enamored girl whose brooding elder brother has told her that as soon as she has a lover she will begin to lie ("'Will I have gotten my jo now?' she thought with secret rapture"); or a passage so richly charged with imagination as that in which the young lover recalls her as he has first seen and desired her, seated at gray of evening on an old tomb in the moorland, and unconsciously making him think, by her scrap of song, both of his mother, who sang it and whom he has lost, and

"of their common ancestors now dead, of their rude wars composed, their weapons buried with them, and of these strange changelings, their descendants, who lingered a little in their places and would soon be gone also, and perhaps sung of by others at the gloaming hour. By one of the unconscious arts of tenderness the two women were enshrined together in his memory. Tears, in that hour of sensibility, came into his eyes indifferently at the thought of either ; and the girl, from being something merely bright and shapely, was caught up into the zone of things serious as life and death and his dead mother. So that, in all ways and on either side, Fate played his game artfully with this poor pair of children. The generations were prepared, the pangs were made ready, before the curtain rose on the dark drama."

It is not a tribute that Stevenson would have appreciated, but I may not forbear noting how closely such a page recalls many another in the tenderest manner of Pierre Loti. There would not, compared, be a pin to choose between them. How, we at all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

events ask ourselves as we consider "Weir," could he have kept it up?—while the reason for which he didn't, reads itself back into his text as a kind of beautiful, rash divination in him that he needn't. Among prose fragments it stands quite alone, with the particular grace and sanctity of mutilation worn by the marble morsels of masterwork in another art. This and the other things, of his best, he left; but these things, lovely as, on rereading many of them at the suggestion of his Correspondence, they are, are not the whole, or more than the half, of his abiding charm. The finest papers in "Across the Plains," in "Memories and Portraits," in "*Virginibus Puerisque*," stout of substance and supremely silver of speech, have both a nobleness and a nearness that place them, for perfection and roundness, above his fictions, and that also may well remind a vulgarized generation of what, even under its nose, English prose can be. But it is bound up with his name, for our wonder and reflection, that he is something other than the author of this or that particular beautiful thing, or of all such things together. It has been his fortune (whether or no the greatest that can befall a man of letters) to have had to consent to become, by a process not purely mystic and not wholly untraceable—what shall we call it?—a Figure. Tracing is needless now, for the personality has acted and the incarnation is full. There he is—he has passed ineffaceably into happy legend. This case of the figure is of the rarest, and the honor surely of the greatest. In all our literature we can count them, sometimes with the work and sometimes without. The work has often been great and yet the figure *nil*. Johnson was one, and Goldsmith and Byron; and the two former, moreover, not in any degree, like Stevenson, in virtue of the element of grace. Was it this element that settled the business even for Byron? It seems doubtful; and the list, at all events, as we approach our own day, shortens and stops. Stevenson has it at present—may we not say?—pretty well to himself, and it is not one of the scrolls in which he least will live.

HENRY JAMES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONGRESS AND PARLIAMENT: A CONTRAST.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

An Englishman who listened too guilelessly to the counsels of his friends in New York would never visit Congress at all. For the cultivated Easterner it seems to be part of the spice of life to run down the national legislature and scare strangers away from the enjoyment of it with gibes on its manners, intelligence and general tone; and anyone who has not been long enough in America to know that New York is its most provincial city and rarely sees beyond the Palisades, may quite easily be taken in. In this case, however, New York is more or less in line with the rest of the country. One finds its attitude of humorous contempt reproduced in almost all the States, under milder forms and from different causes, but with equal insincerity. I know of nothing more delightful in its way than the incontinent sigh of relief sent up from all parts of the United States when Congress adjourns. Hardly more flattering are the greetings which herald in the opening of a new session. "Congress will meet," I read in a Texas paper the other day, "and it will pass laws which the members hope will send each of them back to Congress. Among the members will be those who will object on the supposition that their constituents will send them back to Congress for objecting. That is about all there is to it. As the poor man is greater in numbers than the rich man, the poor man will come in for more consideration than the rich man; but all in all it is a play from the beginning of Congress to the end of it for each member to get back and draw his salary." There may, for all I know, be something in the local conditions of Galveston to give point to this outburst of acrid Asiatic mirth; but I rather suspect it of being just the expression, somewhat franker than is usual, of that merry and imperturbable cynicism which, mingling oddly with the altruism of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the race, colors the American view of politics and politicians. I was advised, if I still wished to keep my faith whole in the American brand of democracy, not to go near Washington. I was told that I should only be disappointed, that the heroic days of Congress had passed, that the great men and the great orators were gone—Tom Reed was the last of them, said everyone—and lawyers who lived on politics, and queer people from the West, and saloonkeepers who called themselves "salesmen" in the official Directory, made up the bulk of the House now-a-days.

It wanted at least the courage of one's incredulity to persevere against such forebodings. But the reward in sheer human interest was just as great as I had hoped for. Nothing in America is quite so American as Congress, and it was the notion of spying out upon legislative Americanisms and comparing these with what I knew of the personnel and customs of the House of Commons that chiefly took me to Washington. I did not expect to find much ceremonial dignity in the House or Senate, and should indeed have been disappointed if, instead of the bare, business-like proceedings I actually watched, there had been some characterless imitation of European pomp. Nor did I look for the presence of great men or great orators, knowing that by the theory of American politics, a national legislature should be composed not of the wisest or most solid or most experienced men in the country, but simply of one's next-door neighbor, the average citizen; knowing, too, that the committee system has virtually stifled Congress as an effective organ of debate. What I hoped to come across was the distinctive flavor of America showing itself in the smaller details of Congressional manners, bearing and procedure; and in this I was in no way disappointed.

Nevertheless, as I sat in the gallery just above the Speaker's chair and watched the Fifty-sixth Congress assembling for its opening day's work, it came upon me with a sort of shock that of all those three hundred and seventy legislators who were crowding the floor and gangways below me, there were barely half a dozen whom I knew even by name, and not one whom a stranger would inevitably ask to have pointed out to him. In the Senate it was different. At least a score of the members of the Upper House were men with whose careers and personalities even a casual follower of American politics could not help being familiar, and whom one was anxious to have identified. But in the House

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I felt as lost as an average New Yorker would feel if you suddenly asked him to name, say, four of the thirty-four Congressmen who represent his State at Washington. And when I inquired after the real notabilities of the House, I was directed to one gentleman who had achieved fame by refusing, as I understood the matter, to wear a dress suit at the White House, and to another with the more pronounced distinction of possessing three wives. One tired after a while of studying even the heroes of these exploits, and I readily fell in with the tactful suggestion that the House was perhaps more interesting *en bloc*, than in its individual members.

The opening of a new session and the manner of choosing its presiding officer show with some accuracy how far an assembly is moved by respect for forms and usages. In England the ceremony, if not always dignified, has a certain picturesque absurdity. The Queen for some years past has given up the practice of opening Parliament in person and handed over the duty to a Royal Commission. The Commissioners in all the grace of cocked hats, scarlet and ermine robes seat themselves on a bench between the throne and the woolsack in the House of Lords. A messenger is sent to the House of Commons summoning them to hear the Royal Proclamation. The messenger is an elaborately dressed official in black silk knee-breeches and the coat and ruffles of other days. "Black Rod" is his title. The door-keeper of the House seeing him approach immediately bars the door, to emphasize the fact that the Sovereign, who is supposed to be present in the person of Black Rod, has no constitutional right to demand admission to the House. Black Rod knocks three times and is allowed to enter. The door-keeper announces his arrival, and at the word all business in the House is suspended and members uncover as Black Rod advances toward the Speaker's chair, bowing thrice. The message is delivered and such members of the House as care to go—there is not room for many—follow the Chief Clerk to the bar of the Lords. The Royal Commission is read and the Commons directed to return whence they came and elect a Speaker for Her Majesty's consideration. The faithful Commons reassemble in their hall and a prearranged programme is gone through. The Chief Clerk points three fingers at the member selected to propose the Speaker, who rises and briefly nominates the man agreed upon. The Chief Clerk points again at the seconder, whose speech is equally short. The motion is put and, if there is no opposition,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and there rarely is, declared carried. The proposer and seconder escort the Speaker-elect to the chair and the House rises as its presiding officer, standing under the canopy of the chair, with one foot on the dais and the other on the topmost step leading to it, returns thanks for the honor done him. The Sergeant-at-Arms puts the mace on the table and the Leader of the House offers his congratulations, before an adjournment is made till twelve o'clock.

The ceremony is not yet quite complete. The Speaker-elect has still to receive the Queen's approval, and his chrysalis state is marked by his appearance at noon in ordinary court dress, instead of the full-bosomed wig and flowing robe that grace the perfected Speaker. Once more Black Rod summons the Commons to the Lords, there to be greeted by the Lord Chancellor and four other Lords in their robes of state. The Speaker-elect "presents himself with all humility for Her Majesty's gracious approbation." The Lord Chancellor announces that "Her Majesty does most readily approve and confirm you as their Speaker." The Speaker then makes the time-honored claim for access at all times to Her Majesty, liberty of speech in debate and freedom from arrest. A few minutes later he reappears in the House of Commons, heralded through the lobbies by official cries of "Mr. Speaker"—a cry which brings every hat off its wearer's head—and takes the chair, a duly confirmed Speaker. The business of swearing-in members is set about forthwith. The members bring with them certificates of election and hand them to the Chief Clerk. The oath is administered in batches of four or five—by the Clerk, not, as in Congress, by the Speaker—and each man after repeating it, kisses the Bible, signs the roll of Parliament and passes on to shake hands with the Speaker, becoming from that moment an indisputable M. P. It is a wearisome, unsystematic proceeding, compared with the swift dispatch of the same ceremony in Congress, and often lasts over into the second or third day of the session.

There is another function, thoroughly English in its genesis and execution, which never fails to precede by a few hours the ceremonial opening of Parliament. That is the search through the vaults of the two Houses for any would-be assassins and other maliciously disposed persons who may be lurking there. The Lord Chamberlain, one of the highest of English dignitaries, the Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms, an inspector of police, the Clerk of the Works, and four of Her Majesty's Guard of Yeomen—the latter

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

armed to the teeth and carrying lanterns—march solemnly through the waste of vaults, peering into every alcove and manhole, seeking what they may find. Nothing of course ever is found, but something was found three hundred odd years ago—Guy Fawkes and his brother conspirators with their barrels of gunpowder, preparing a surprise for James I. Since then no Parliament has thought of beginning its deliberations without a rigid inspection of its underground cellars. The ceremony is gone through before each session with all possible gravity and punctiliousness. In one particular only has the ritual been changed. In the old days when the report had been received at the Lord Chamberlain's office, a horseman dashed off to Windsor or Whitehall with the assurance that the Sovereign's safety would not be endangered if Parliament were opened in person. Now the good news is sent to the Queen by telegraph.

These things may be ridiculous in themselves, but they stand for a good deal that is worth preserving. It is the absence of such usages, with their air of stateliness and ancientry, the bonds they lay upon a man to live up to the dignity of old traditions, that makes the atmospheric differences of Congress and Parliament. At the Capitol the note of unmitigated modernity is struck on the very threshold. Any one can enter who cares to, without reference to age, color or sex, present condition of clothing or previous condition of servitude. No one is on guard at the doors to inquire after your business or challenge your right to admission. Millionaire or tramp, white or black, the Capitol is yours to roam in at will, and if you can find a vacant seat in the public galleries from which to listen to the debates, you are welcome to it. No tickets, passes or credentials of any sort are asked for; you just walk straight in and sit down. Liberty can go no further. It seemed to me eminently consonant with all I had seen of America that this should be so; and if one's English notions were occasionally startled by the sight of some ragged shuffle of a man, whom no second-rate hotel would have allowed to enter its lobby, lounging about in the precincts of the national legislature, there was the feeling that his presence was more than compensated for by the system that made it possible.

Something of this infectious unrestraint had passed into the House itself, and the floor and galleries gave evidence of it. The galleries were in a particularly democratic mood. They hummed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with chat and comment—three-fourths of the occupants were women—and whenever anything on the floor seemed to strike their fancy they joined in the laughter and applause unchecked. The new Speaker received as hearty a round of hand-clapping and handkerchief-waving from the galleries as could be wished for; and there were moments in the Roberts debate when feminine sentiment on the general question of a man's owning three wives got beyond the point of passivity. The disposition of the onlookers, so far as I could gauge it, was not in the least toward reverence of the House, its members or its ways of doing things, nor yet toward irreverence—rather was it that of play-goers in a theatre, one of curiosity and pleasurable expectation—and there were several things on the floor to encourage this sense of *camaraderie* and make every one feel quite at home. As viewed from behind the Speaker's chair, the House cannot honestly be called impressive. Honorable members are seated not as in the House of Commons, along parallel lines of benches, but in curved, concentric rows, facing the Speaker. Each member has a revolving arm-chair with a spacious desk in front of it, where he can write letters and busy himself among his papers in a way that must be horribly disconcerting to an opponent in debate. Behind the chairs runs a railing hung with drapery, and between the railing and the wall is a passageway opening on to smoking-rooms, where members by simply leaving the door open, can enjoy their cigar and listen to the speeches and propagate throughout the House a pleasing odor of tobacco. Further to the right is a barber's shop, through the glass doors of which it was possible from where I sat to catch a glimpse of members under the razor. When business was dull the colored barber did not disdain to open one of the doors and, standing half in and half out of his shop, watch the proceedings of the House till they bored him.

An even more home-like feeling was encouraged by the sight of several small boys, the sons of Congressmen, sitting on their father's knees during the debates. The colored member, I was glad to see, brought his little piccaninny along. Some of these infants, tiring of the paternal lap, would climb into the nearest seat, and there explore and test to the uttermost its rotary mechanism; and the Congressman to whom the seat belonged—brimming over as all Americans are with absolute kindliness toward children—would make no effort to expel the intruder, but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

walk off into the smoking-room for a cigar. One urchin, I noticed, came up with his father to be sworn in, held up his little fist and took the oath of allegiance to the Constitution. Nothing in Congress fascinated me quite so much as this, except perhaps the exquisitely condescending manner in which the pages of the House led the applause at the finish of the new Speaker's address—giving him just that "friendly support" for which he had appealed to the House. These pages are a feature peculiar to Congress. In the House of Commons no one but members, the clerks at the table and the Sergeant-at-Arms is allowed to cross the bar. Messages and telegrams are handed to the nearest member and passed along the benches until they reach the member for whom they are meant. The habit of using the House as a writing room—a habit impossible in the House of Commons, where there are no desks, and forbidden anyway—makes a corps of messenger boys an obvious corollary. A member who wants a letter mailed or a message taken to a friend in the Senate, or a book fetched from the library, claps his hands as a signal, and three or four pages dart along the gangways to his seat, in eager emulation to run his errands. How much of the noise and seeming disorder of Congress is due to the banging of desk-lids and the summoning of these messenger boys, it would be hard to say. I should hazard about three-fourths.

In personal appearance Congress struck me as falling short of the high average maintained by the House of Commons, which, taken as a whole, is probably the best-dressed assembly in the world. The House of Representatives faithfully reflects the ordinary American man's carelessness of externals. I observed very closely, but could only find two members who came up to the Fifth Avenue standard; and it takes an exceptionally built man to look imposing in the ordinary Congressional costume of loose frock-coat, low cut vest, a turned-down collar with a white bow, and a derby hat. In the Senate more attention seems to be paid to these details of deportment and manners. I saw no member of the Upper House enjoying the luxury of what is known as a "dry smoke," whereas I counted at one time not less than thirteen Congressmen chewing cigars in unrestrained comfort. Nor while in the Senate had I any reason to wish, as I often had in the House of Representatives, that the New York Board of Health regulations relative to the use of the floors of cable cars and elevated trains, might be extended to the Capitol. These are small things,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but they indicate a certain laxity which no public assembly can long afford to leave unrebuked. I noticed, for instance, in the House perpetual violations of the law which forbids a man to pass between the Speaker and the member who is addressing the House. The House of Commons is punctilious to what some think an absurd degree in the observance of such points of order. If a member moves about the House with his hat on or puts even a toe beyond the line on the floor which no man may cross while speaking, cries of "Order! Order!" are heard on every side. And this is very wholesome. It may seem trivial in a given solitary instance, but it is only by ceaseless stringency in the small points of decorum that the intimacies of daily strife in a contentious and excitable body can be kept on a high plane.

I was told that as a rule the House is a disheartening place to speak in, and I could easily imagine it to be so. At the beginning of a session, when members are keen in their work, and before the novelty has worn off, I had little chance of judging what it would be like later on. But there are some obvious disadvantages in its structure and the habits of its members which must chill the most earnest orator. The House, to begin with, is an enormous hall, far larger than the House of Commons, which though it contains six hundred and seventy members, has sitting accommodation for only about three hundred. It would take a powerful voice to fill it, even if the completest silence were enforced, but one cannot be in the House long without getting the impression that even comparative quiet is hard to come at. The buzz in the galleries, the calling for the pages, who scurry up and down the aisles at top speed, the clatter of the desks and the repeated thumps of the Speaker's gavel, make up a fretful and ceaseless clamor which even the strongest lungs would contend against in vain. If it is true, as I heard charged, that Congressional oratory is tinged with extravagance, the explanation lies to hand. No man can argue at the top of his voice. A speaker who has to strain his larynx to make himself heard is certain to strain his phrases. A good deal of the effectiveness of the House of Commons as a debating organ is due to the fact that members of the two parties sit opposite to one another and within easy range. Moreover, the presence of desks and the habits they encourage are serious handicaps on the orator who desires the attention of the whole House. You cannot thunder successfully at an honorable gentleman who

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is too busily engaged lolling in his seat or writing a letter, or reading a newspaper to turn round and look at you.

During the debates on the Roberts case I saw little of the state of things which I was given to understand was the ordinary condition of the House in mid-session. Members were keenly interested and gave a quiet and courteous hearing to all that was said. The speeches struck me as being rather above the level of average addresses heard in the House of Commons. They were well formed, in style and matter, and well delivered. Mr. Roberts, considering that he was speaking for the first time in a strange hall, and with the chilling sense of having three-quarters of the House against him, did remarkably well. But the interest of Congress is only half contained in the Capitol, and the visitor who wishes to see the real machinery of politics at work must make the round of the Washington hotel lobbies. It was my good fortune to be staying at the same hotel with several famous bosses, powerful beyond the dreams of Kaiser or Czar, and among them one whom I venture to call the Greatest Boss of All. Very fascinating it was to watch the great man pass from the dining-room to the lobby with his tall hat well on the back of his head, a toothpick in one corner of his mouth and an unlighted cigar in the other, settle himself comfortably in an armchair and there hold a levee of politicians and office-seekers from all over the country. Men did deference unto him as to power personified, and all the little boys in the neighborhood who had been told that if they behaved well they too might grow up to be great bosses and govern millions from the security of a hotel lobby, stood round the walls and gaped at the monarch on his throne. Nothing could be more austerely democratic. And accidentally as I passed behind the Great Man's chair I heard some one remark, "He don't like it. I was there when he said it." "Was you?" asked the Great Man.

And so, leaving Republicanism to flourish as it pleased in Washington, I returned with many mingled feelings to the absolute despotism of New York.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND ITS BEARINGS ON CHURCH UNITY.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D.D.

THERE can be no doubt that there is a crisis in the Church of England at this time; but it is altogether probable that this crisis is not so serious as it appears to be from the statements of extreme men. This crisis, like all similar crises, has been forced to a head by rash partisans, who, without commission or qualification, except their own conceit and presumption, constituted themselves the champions of orthodoxy; but the crisis could not have come to a head if there had not been a situation of real difficulty in the Church of England. It is distressing to see the peace disturbed, and human passions rage, about the doctrine and worship of Christ's Church; but the experience of history teaches us that such crises are necessary for the advancement of the Church. It is the only way in which the attention of the whole Church can be concentrated upon a bad situation and its energy aroused and put forth for reformation. The present crisis is an inevitable result of the Oxford movement, as that was an inevitable resultant of the evolution of the Anglo-Catholic party of the Church of England since the Reformation.

The questions brought before the Anglican Archbishops for their decision, namely, the use of incense in worship, the ceremonial use of lights in processions, and the reservation of the Holy Sacrament for the sick and dying, are three questions, selected from many others, which serve the purpose of testing the whole situation, as to the use of ornaments in public worship, and as to the limitation of the use of the Holy Sacrament to the time of the celebration. They are the advanced guard of much

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more serious questions which are involved in the great movement of the Anglo-Catholic party toward the restoration of the doctrine and worship of the Catholic Church of England prior to the Reformation, and thus toward reunion with the Church of Rome.

It is unfair to that party to accuse them of being Romanists in disguise, or of seeking in an underhanded and unlawful way to bring the Church of England under the dominion of the Pope. The cry "No Popery" is therefore a dishonest appeal to popular prejudice. If they were really Romanists and ready to submit to the authority of Rome, they could not possibly remain in the Church of England. Their own consciences would compel them to do as Newman and Manning did and withdraw from the Church of England and submit to the Church of Rome.

The position and aims of the Anglo-Catholic party cannot be doubted. They seek so far as possible to recover the ancient Catholic doctrines and ceremonies of the Church of England, which were put aside and discredited at the Reformation, because of certain abuses and superstitions connected with them; while they would retain all that they think good and right in the Reformation itself. They do not aim to bring the Church of England to submission to the Roman Church, but they work in the hope that both the Church of England and the Church of Rome may be reformed, by going back to the truly Catholic position of the Church before the Reformation, that they may be reunited in a truly Catholic and a truly Reformed Church.

There can be no doubt that this Anglo-Catholic party has been in the Church of England since the Reformation, and that it can claim no less names than Queen Elizabeth and Charles I., Archbishops Bancroft and Laud, and the leading prelates of the Restoration. This party has its historic right in the Church of England since the Reformation, whatever any one may say as to its present positions and claims. And the Puritan party has no call to make them uncomfortable in the Church, or to force them to choose between Catholicism and Protestantism.

The several Acts of Uniformity were made in the interests of maintaining the unity of the Church of England and of destroying every kind of schism. They were used against the Roman Catholics with great severity, because Roman Catholics recognized the supremacy of the Pope in ecclesiastical affairs. But the Anglo-Catholics during the sixteenth, seventeenth and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eighteenth centuries maintained the Supremacy of the Crown in ecclesiastical affairs, and were therefore indulged by the Crown and the prelates and were not strictly held to the Acts of Uniformity. Throughout the history of the Church of England, the standing complaint of the Puritan party has been against the crypto-Romanism which was allowed and even favored in the Church of England. At the Restoration, the Presbyterian divines of the Conference of Savoy called the attention of the bishops to many of these ceremonies, which had been tolerated and encouraged; but the prelates gave them scarcely a decent hearing. They did not attempt to put a check upon the Anglo-Catholics; they exhausted themselves in persecuting the Puritans.

There is much to be said, therefore, in favor of the plea just put forth by such divines as Gore, Scott Holland, Moberly and others, against the decision of the Archbishops as to the ceremonial use of incense and lights. They say:

"We are nevertheless compelled to regard with the gravest anxiety the rigid interpretation given in that ruling to the Act of Uniformity of 1559, and continued in 1662, an interpretation which would, we fear, go beyond the matter immediately under decision, and which does make even so minute an usage as the saying of 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord,' before the Gospel, in the strict sense, illegal.

"We humbly submit (1) that neither the Elizabethan, Jacobean, nor yet the Caroline Bishops, whether before or after 1662, considered themselves to be thus stringently confined.

"(2) That there were many important details given, which were afterward specified by rubrics in 1662, which were continuously practised, and in some cases enforced, without any rubrical direction, under the Elizabethan act.

"(3) That the common law and usage of the Church should be always considered in its place by the side of the statute law. And we most earnestly plead that, in view of the complete change of circumstances which has taken place since the passing of the Acts, and in justice to the Church engaged in an immense and many-sided work, which is bound to depend largely on enterprise and experiment, the interpretation given to the rubrics should be as wide and free as their language will reasonably permit; and that a stringent uniformity, however impartially enforced, is the last thing which the needs of the day require."*

There can be no doubt that the Crown and the prelates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not pretend to enforce the Acts of Uniformity against the Anglo-Catholic party. It is a question, therefore, how far common law and usage may go as

* *Appeal to the Archbishops*, signed by Gore, Scott Holland, Moberly and others, *Guardian*, Oct. 11, 1899, p. 1360.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over against statute law; how far the neglect to enforce a law may give rights under the law.

It seems evident that the Archbishops in their decision of July 31, 1899, have given the correct interpretation of the statute law. It is impossible to give any other decision on the grounds of law and history. All the arguments on the other side submitted before the Archbishops, and made by Canon MacColl in his book "Reformation Settlement," and by Dr. Sanday in "The Catholic Movement and the Archbishops' Decision," and others, are ingenious, plausible on the surface, fine examples of special pleading, but altogether invalid. The Archbishops weighed these arguments with the utmost care. It appears that they would have been glad to reach a less rigid interpretation of the law; but they could do no other as the chief pastors of the Church of England, when called upon by the whole Church to interpret the law. The argument that the common law of the Church should weigh over against the statute law is not a valid argument. The Church has no common law. The only law any Church has is statute law. All ecclesiastical law is canon law. Those who make this argument are misled by the usages of civil law and depart from the history of ecclesiastical law. The argument that the non-enforcement of a law against a party in the Church excuses that party for a continuance in disobedience is invalid. As Sir William Harcourt in his article in the *Times* shows, that is simply an evidence of "lawlessness in the National Church." The bishops have not used their prerogative, they have not enforced the law. As Harcourt puts it:

> "They have for years shut the gates of ecclesiastical justice; they have deprived the laity of the protection which the law had provided; they have guaranteed the clergy against any penalty for any and every offense against the law of the Church, and they call this comprehension."

This is strong language; but it is substantially true. It has been a tradition among the prelates since the Reformation not to enforce the law against the Anglo-Catholic party. They did this, not in the interests of comprehension, but in the interests of the party which was always eager for the prerogatives of bishop and Crown. A change came about in modern times in the interests of comprehension. The bishops ceased to enforce the law against the Puritan party, because they saw that such enforcement was ruinous to the Church. Historically, the Acts of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Uniformity have been goads in the hands of the prelates to torment the Puritan party. As a recent writer in the *Guardian* says, they were made against the enemies of the Church, not against churchmen. But he, as others, identifies his party with the Church, and claims that the Puritan party are not true churchmen. This is not historically right. The Puritan party has as good a right in the Church as the Anglo-Catholic. However, the writer is plausibly correct, for the Acts of Uniformity have ever been used against the Puritan party. It is one of the revenges of history that, after the Puritan party had gained the same recognition from the bishops as the Anglo-Catholic party, in the interests of comprehension, the Act of Uniformity should now be turned against the Anglo-Catholic party, through an agitation promoted by extreme and self-appointed champions of Puritanism. Ever since the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth until the close of the eighteenth century, the Puritan or Protestant party in the Church has been tormented by the Acts of Uniformity. One body after another has been compelled to abandon the Church of England, the Church of their fathers, by these Acts of Uniformity, interpreted loosely toward the Anglo-Catholics, but with rigidity and strictness toward the Protestant party. And so, as the result of these partisan interpretations, the greater part of the British nation has been excluded from the great Mother Church, and the Church of England and her daughters have become the Church of a minority of the English-speaking people. And yet a great section of the Puritan party remained in the Church of England to the present day, suffering all manner of hardships and wrongs rather than abandon the Church of their fathers. It is well, therefore, that the bishops learned to be as generous toward the Puritans as toward the Anglo-Catholics, and refrained from enforcing the law. It was disorderly, it produced a condition of lawlessness; but it was infinitely preferable to the rigorous enforcement of a bad law which for centuries had proved a constant peril to the Church.

As the Anglo-Catholic party has aimed at a reunion with Rome, the Puritan party has ever aimed at a reunion with the Protestant Churches of the Continent of Europe, with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and with the Non-Conforming bodies in Great Britain. This, then, has been the agonizing struggle of the Church of England: the effort (1.) to maintain the unity

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of all Christians in England in the Church of England; (2.) of the Anglo-Catholic party to unite with the Church of Rome; (3.) of the Protestant party to unite with the Presbyterian and Non-Conforming communions. This struggle has increased in intensity in our times. It is involved in the tide that sweeps on toward a Reunion of Christendom. And so the crisis is upon us.

What, then, is to be the end of this struggle? Is the Act of Uniformity to be used in our generation to force a section of the Anglo-Catholic party out of the Church? Is it to be used to destroy the Church of England as a National Church and to break it up into several denominations representing the several parties? There are some who think it and who hope it, and who are striving to bring it about.

None of these things is likely to happen. The leaders and scholars of the Church of England recognize the great mistakes of the past; the mistakes of Archbishop Laud, who, in the interests of the Anglo-Catholic party, succeeded in alienating the Scottish nation from the Church of England; and of the prelates in dealing so cavalierly with the representative Presbyterian divines at the Restoration, when they had the opportunity, by reasonable concessions, to maintain the unity of the Church of England. In seeking to maintain the unity of the Church by an Act of Uniformity rigidly interpreted, they forced more than two thousand learned and pious parish ministers out of the Church of England, and became responsible for all those evils which have resulted from the separation of the Presbyterian denominations since that time. So, in the next century, it was the intolerance of the bishops which brought about the separation of the great Methodist bodies and the alienation of the Welsh nation from the Church. The leaders of the Church are not likely at this late date to reverse the policy of centuries, and at the dictation of a few ultra-Protestants, limit the comprehension of the Church on the Catholic side. It seems evident, from the statements of representative men of both the Anglo-Catholic and Puritan parties, that neither party desires to pursue the policy of exclusion. They both seek comprehension so far as it is possible. It has now become evident to all that the Act of Uniformity, strictly interpreted, makes comprehension impossible. A sufficiently lax interpretation involves lawlessness and the disorderly situation that every parish priest, if bold enough, may

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do what is right in his own eyes. The Act of Uniformity is used to pinch the Anglo-Catholics to-day. But there are already signs that the extreme men among them are demanding that equal justice should be done to the Puritan party. In a few months we shall hear all manner of complaints from the Puritan party when the Act of Uniformity is applied to their irregularities also. The quicker this comes the better, for it is necessary that all parties should as soon as possible agree to a repeal of the Act of Uniformity, which has been for more than three hundred years the curse of the British nation.

It is an enormous gain that the leaders of the Anglo-Catholic party have come over to the same attitude toward the Act of Uniformity as was maintained by the great representatives of Puritanism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One may almost hear a Puritan Father speaking in these words of Lord Halifax:*

"What indeed is the position of the Church of England under this latest addition to her burdens? She finds herself bound hand and foot by Acts of Parliament of the reign of Elizabeth, by canons of the reign of James I., and by rubrics which have not been revised since the days of Charles II. She is imperfectly represented by a convocation which the State authorities will not allow to be reformed, and which can do nothing without legislative sanction of a Parliament which includes Jews, Quakers, Socinians, Presbyterians, Non-Conformists of every description, Agnostics and others who are hostile to the Church. She has had courts imposed upon her for the decision of questions of discipline by the sole authority of Parliament, without her consent. Her Bishops, Deans, Canons and ecclesiastical Professors are nominated by the Prime Minister, and the Church has no voice in their appointment. Every effort she makes to reform herself, or supply her needs, is thwarted by a powerful party in Parliament, on grounds avowedly hostile to the Church's well being. The opinion of the Archbishops is but a new band around the old bottles, bursting as they are with the revived life of the Church."

One cannot believe that the Puritan party in the Church of England will take any very different position from this. With the combined force of both parties, there ought to be no difficulty in doing away with the Act of Uniformity altogether, and in gaining for the Church of England the same autonomy that was won for the Church of Scotland after the British Revolution. It is quite significant that Canon Gore and others are working for a reorganization of the Church, so as to prepare it for self-government, and that they are looking for help partly to the Presbyterian

*Address before English Church Union, *Guardian*, Oct. 11, 1899, p. 1389.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Church of Scotland, and partly to the American Protestant Episcopal Church. The Protestant Episcopal Church has adopted many of the best features of Presbyterianism. The Presbyterian divines who composed the Westminster Confession and Form of Government would find the Protestant Episcopal Church, in many respects, a better type of Presbyterianism than the American Presbyterian Churches. There is, in fact, no way in which the Church of England can gain her independence save by organizing herself into representative synods. It is thus another of the revenges of history that the Anglo-Catholic party, which refused the plan proposed by Archbishop Usher and adopted by the Presbyterians at the Restoration as their proposal for accommodation with the Anglo-Catholic party, namely, the "Reduction of Episcopacy into the form of Synodical Government," should now in their most representative leaders propose this very thing themselves. What a pity it has taken two hundred years to bring this about! Baxter rightly said in 1691:

> "O how little would it have cost your churchmen in 1660 and 1661 to have prevented the calamitous and dangerous divisions of this land and our common danger thereby, and the hurt that many thousand souls have received by it. And how little would it cost them yet to prevent a continuance of it?"*

Some are so perverse-minded as to suppose that the Puritan party and Presbyterians will gratify a revengeful spirit, and will obstruct the efforts of the Church of England to win autonomy under a synodical form of government. This is impossible. The Puritan party will not be like a dog in the manger. They will not go back on their own history. Whether the Puritan party is in the Church, or without it in Non-Conforming religious bodies, it matters little; they will welcome the effort of the Church of England to undo the wrongs of the past, and to remove the obstructions to Christian fellowship. The Presbyterians of Scotland, Wales and Ireland will rejoice in this movement and aid it in every way in their power. And especially will earnest, godly men in all Christian religious bodies, who are weary, as Baxter was, with the evils of disunion, be filled with holy joy and courage when they see the Church of England adopting all the essential things in government for which their Puritan fathers contended, when they see her assimilating herself to the govern-

* *Penitent Confession*, 1691.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment of the Reformed Churches of the Continent and of Scotland. It inevitably raises the question to them, which cannot be put down, why they should not accept the historic episcopate, the then only remaining barrier on the side of Church government to the reunion of Protestants, and so at last effect the organic reunion of the Reformed Churches, the ideal of the irenic party in all the national churches since the Reformation.

It may be said that a reunion based on agreement as to Church government and discipline can hardly be effective so long as there are such serious discords as to doctrine and worship. This is quite true. But, on the other hand, it is just in these departments that the history of the Church of England has been so instructive. So far as doctrine is concerned, there is practically no difficulty in the Church of England at the present time in the way of comprehension. There are theologians who hold, maintain and freely proclaim, on the one side, all the essential doctrines of the Catholic Church before the Reformation, only rejecting ancient abuses and the supremacy of the Pope, and the dogmas proclaimed since the Reformation in the Church of Rome. It is true that they have no legal right so to do. The Articles of Religion exclude, and were designed to exclude, these very things. And yet they manage by unnatural interpretation of the Articles, or by an assertion of the superiority of Catholic tradition to the Articles, to maintain these opinions, and no bishop attempts to interfere with them. On the other hand, Protestant doctrines are held, maintained and advocated with equal freedom, even in such extreme forms as would have been regarded as unsound by the Protestant reformers. Calvinistic, Lutheran and Arminian doctrines are equally at home in the Church of England. Right or wrong, legally, historically or ideally, from whatever point of view you may regard it, that is the situation; and it is impossible at the present time to change it. From the point of view of Christian irenics, this is a wholesome situation. If there is ever to be a reunion of Christendom, comprehension in doctrine must be fully as wide as this. In this respect the Church of England is the beacon, the hope and the joy of the movement for the reunion of Christendom.

Now, it is just this situation as to doctrine that makes it practically impossible to enforce the Act of Uniformity as to worship and its ornaments and ceremonies. Those who hold the Catholic doctrine of the mass must express that doctrine in ap-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

propriate ceremonies, with appropriate ornaments. Those who hold the Lutheran doctrine will also insist upon somewhat different ceremonies from those who hold the Calvinistic view. The toleration of the doctrine, the recognition of the right to hold the doctrine, necessarily involves the toleration and recognition of the right to the ceremony and ornaments which express the doctrine. On the other hand, those who hold the Calvinistic doctrine must also express that doctrine by the simplicity of the service of the Holy Communion, and by the exclusion of all but the simplest kind of ceremony and ornament. There ought to be little doubt that, historically, the Church of England is committed in its Articles and in its Book of Common Prayer to the Calvinistic view of the Holy Communion; and yet, in the ritual and the ceremonies and the ornaments, certain things are retained which are not altogether in accord with the Calvinistic view, and to these the Puritan party have objected from the beginning, and to them many object at present, although in usage they have come to have a different meaning to the children of the Puritans from what they originally had.

It is evident, therefore, that there is at present a considerable difference of usage in the Church, and still more, a great difference of interpretation of the common usage. The rigid enforcement of the Act of Uniformity would strike both parties with well-nigh equal severity. The Archbishops have interpreted the law. Will they enforce it? It is probable that there will be a general submission to it so far as the matters decided for the present, but only for the present, are concerned. It is quite possible that the law may be enforced against any who may aggressively and doggedly violate it. But certainly any and every possible excuse will be taken not to enforce the law.

And so, after the excitement has died away, the usage which has been declared unlawful will again gradually come into use; in the meanwhile the whole Church is aroused to get rid of an intolerable situation, and it will do so. So soon as the Church of England knows her own mind, Parliament will give her her will in the government and worship of the Church. The Non-Conformists of England, and the Presbyterians of Scotland and Wales, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland may take advantage of the situation to demand the redress of certain grievances. They are entitled to such redress. It is a shame that these wrongs

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have so long continued. These redresses will, doubtless, be the price the Church of England will have to pay for her liberty. The Church of Wales will probably be disestablished for the same reason that the Church of Ireland was disestablished. But it is improbable that the Church of England will be disestablished. The Church of England will not be broken up into sects. It is quite true that many of the Anglo-Catholic party would prefer disestablishment to the long continuance of the present intolerable situation. The Puritan party and the great middle party will be forced to choose between disestablishment and liberty of worship to the Anglo-Catholics. There is little doubt that the liberty will be given and the establishment will be continued. It is probable that the bishops will have to pay their price and give up their seats in the House of Lords. That might be, on the whole, a blessing to the Church of England and a gain to parliamentary government in England. Every one of these things counts on the side of liberty, of comprehension, of reconciliation, and of reunion. The inevitable result of this crisis is much greater freedom, elasticity and comprehension in the worship of the Church of England. The American Church has led the way, and it may guide and help the mother Church still further in this direction. No nobler position has ever been taken than that of the House of Bishops at Chicago, when they stated the third article of the quadrilateral of Church Unity: "The two sacraments ordained by Christ himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him;" supplemented as it was by the statement in the Declaration "that in all things of human ordering or human choice relating to modes of worship and discipline or to traditional customs, this Church is ready in the spirit of love and humility, to forego all preferences of her own."

This ideal has been endorsed by the Lambeth Conference, and is the common platform of the Anglican Church for reunion. This platform has reconciled many to the Anglican Communion. If it is used not as a merely theoretical ideal, but as a practical working ideal, then they should endeavor to make the Church itself correspond with that ideal. Then all the difficulties of British Christianity will be solved, all the parties will be reconciled, and Catholic and Protestant, Lutheran and Calvinist,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arminian and Scholastic, will partake together of the one holy sacrifice; and, while each will have his freedom in his own parish to use such ceremonies and ornaments and liturgy as will best express his own doctrine, he will not be offended when he partakes with his brethren in the use of other ceremonies, ornaments and liturgies. It is very desirable that the unity and peace of the Church may be realized in some such comprehensive position.

The rigid interpretation of the Act of Uniformity by the Archbishops seems to raise an insuperable obstacle in the way of Church Unity, and to threaten the rupture of the Church rather than to promise its reunion with other Churches. But it really opens the eyes of the Church of England to see the perils of the situation, and therefore initiates movements which will be fruitful in unity and peace.

CHARLES A. BRIGGS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CENSUS OF 1900.

BY WILLIAM R. MERRIAM, DIRECTOR OF THE TWELFTH CENSUS.

WHILE it is undeniable that the average American citizen is enthusiastic concerning the future growth and prosperity of his country and is at times apt to indulge in more or less patriotic endeavor in this direction, it is seriously to be questioned whether the United States Marshals who took the first census of the United States, in the year 1790, had the slightest conception of what a great enumeration would mean at the approach of the dawn of the Twentieth Century. Primarily, the object of the census was to ascertain the population for the purpose of arranging an apportionment for representation in Congress. But, as the years have gone on, from a mere count of inhabitants the census has developed into a vast industrial and sociological undertaking.

For the first ten decades the census work was in charge of the head of the State Department, the United States Marshals arranging all the details and sending in the returns. In the year 1810 an attempt was made to ascertain the extent of the manufacturing industries of the country, but the results were so unsatisfactory that the inquiry was of little value. In the year 1850, however, a distinct change was made in the plan for doing the census work. The Secretary of the Interior was given charge of the whole undertaking, and a census board, consisting of the Secretary of State, the Attorney-General and the Postmaster-General, was instructed to prepare such schedules as might be necessary. The Board was further instructed to collect statistics in regard to mines, manufacturing establishments, agriculture, etc. From that date up to the present time the scope of each census has been enlarged. The most marked departure in the arrangements for collecting the manufacturing statistics was made by Gen. Francis A. Walker, one of the most eminent men

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ever connected with census work. He originated the plan of withdrawing the manufacturing schedules from the enumerators in the largest cities of the Union, and of appointing special agents to gather the information required concerning manufacturing establishments in such cities. This plan resulted in securing by far the best statistics concerning industrial institutions ever before procured.

The legislation provided for the taking of the Eleventh Census involved a tremendous amount of work, more than most people appreciate; and the results, in view of the difficulties presented and the obstacles encountered, were remarkable. Mr. Porter was not appointed Superintendent until over two months after the passage of the Act, and he was pushed from the start on all sides. Congress submitted amendments to the Act just previous to the date fixed for the enumeration; and this materially added to the already overburdened schedules, and delayed their full tabulation and presentation. There were many obstacles that operated to block the project, and, in view of the numerous irritating conditions that arose, it was a miracle that the final outcome was so creditable. It is much easier to stand afar off and criticise, without a knowledge of the facts, than it is to accomplish the desired results. Mr. Porter burdened himself with a gigantic undertaking, and he is entitled to much consideration and commendation from his fellow-citizens.

The law of 1899 is a wide departure from any previous census legislation. The indications are that, in the decades that are past, as the time approached for making the required enumeration, the plan for doing the census work was always hastily devised, and thus a temporary and spasmodic atmosphere was given to the whole enterprise. It seems to have been the idea of those who shaped the census legislation in the past that the work did not need any well-defined plan, but that a large temporary force could be gathered together, and the information concerning population, agriculture and manufacturing industries and other subjects collected and reported to the country within a short space of time. The results, however, were extremely unsatisfactory to all who are really interested in a creditable piece of work. The Act under which the Twelfth Census is being operated is decidedly the best law that has ever been enacted for taking a census. The executive and statistical branches of the work are so sharply defined that it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is possible to make the individual in charge of each inquiry responsible for lack of method or tardiness in securing results.

The Director has general charge of the administration, and under him is an Assistant Director, who is a trained statistician, and to whom is assigned the general oversight of the various statisticians employed by the Bureau. Five Chief Statisticians are provided for, and a certain line of inquiry has been assigned to each one, and he is to be held responsible for his particular branch of the work. Each Chief Statistician has been selected for his well-known ability in handling the particular subject assigned him, each one having a reputation for capacity and thoroughness in his special line of inquiry. The Act creating the Bureau, for the first time in the history of census legislation, prescribes absolutely a limited time in which to finish certain branches of work. Two years have been allowed for gathering, tabulating, printing and binding the statistics relating to the four most important subjects with which the census deals, namely, population, vital statistics, agriculture, and manufacturing industries. The time required for completing and publishing the Census Reports of 1890 was something like seven years. It seems a herculean undertaking to accomplish in two years a task which required seven years in the last census. However, if it is a possible thing, it will be done within the time prescribed.

It is estimated that, for the purpose of transferring the enumerators' sheets to cards, and of counting the same by means of the Hollerith machines, at least twenty-eight hundred people will be employed at one time. To secure a clerical force capable of doing the work, a system of examination was inaugurated in Washington during the early part of the year, and has been in operation up to the present date, and is likely to continue for some months to come; part of the examinations are being held in Washington and part in various sections of the country. The examinations are largely in subjects intimately connected with the census work. Thus far about one-half of the people applying have failed to pass the prescribed examination. There has been more or less criticism, upon the part of different papers throughout the country, in regard to this plan of selecting the clerical force. The indications at this time are that the persons who have been appointed from an eligible list made up in this manner will prove to be excellent clerks. The plan of competitive examinations

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has not been adopted, as it was not deemed practicable to examine the large number who would naturally desire to be considered if competitive examinations were held; and the Bureau has not the necessary machinery at hand, nor would it be of any special advantage, to undertake to collect the clerical force in this way.

The plan heretofore in use for making the enumeration by means of supervisors will be pursued in this census. Nearly three hundred supervisors, the number allotted by law, have been selected to take charge of the work in the various census districts throughout the country, and to designate suitable persons to act as enumerators and make the proper returns to the Census Office. Much of the work of the office will depend upon the Supervisors and the promptness with which they make returns. It is hoped that by appointing them early there will be ample time to instruct them in their duties, and to give them the fullest insight into the labors that will be required of them. They are expected to submit to this office lists of the enumerators who will be required in their respective districts; the total number needed to do the work will be about fifty thousand men. This office will endeavor, through the Supervisors, to instruct the enumerators in their immediate line of work, so as to secure the most reliable returns. It is the great weakness in census work that the Director is compelled to collect men to do important service who are to be only temporarily employed. Useful and capable men are not willing to leave places of a permanent character to accept positions that will last but a few days.

In order to complete the work within the allotted time and in a proper manner, it was deemed absolutely necessary to secure a building large enough to accommodate the enormous force which will be employed. It has been the plan, heretofore, in taking the census, to do the work in different buildings, and in some cases the work was done away from Washington, thus making it impossible to handle efficiently the large number of people required. The Superintendent of the last census was compelled to scatter his force among nine or ten buildings, which made it impossible to obtain the best results. The Census Office, after all, is nothing but a great statistical bureau, and in the employment of so large a force it is necessary to pursue the same general tactics of administration as are usually observed in industrial institutions. From the best possible *data*, it was determined that at least 2,800

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to 3,000 clerks, messengers and other employees would be required to do the preliminary work, and to complete and finish the undertaking within the two years prescribed by law. It was determined, therefore, to make arrangements with some of the capitalists of the city of Washington to provide a building such as the necessities warranted. It may be stated, in passing, that it was thought essential to have not only an administrative building, which might be set aside for the Director, the Assistant Director and the various members of the official staff, but also that there should be large rooms which would contain space enough for the clerks who are to tabulate the returns.

The executive or administrative portion of the building will be two stories high. The main building will contain space for the clerks, vaults for storing the schedules, engine rooms, and printing department.

The large space in the single-story part of the building has been divided into two separate rooms; each of these rooms will hold about one thousand clerks. Between these two rooms will be the fire-proof vault above referred to, and also a room for storing the cards which are to be used in connection with the tabulating machine. There will be about 100,000,000 of these cards. It is proposed to employ about one thousand clerks in transferring *data* from enumerators' sheets to cards about three by six inches in size. This is done by first preparing a card for each person enumerated, showing all the characteristics of such person. The cards used for this purpose are printed with letters and symbols so arranged that by punching holes in the proper spaces we get the following information regarding each individual—race, sex, color, age, conjugal condition, birth-place of person, of father, mother, years in the United States, occupation, school attendance, etc. These cards, though only 7-1000 of an inch in thickness, would form a stack, if piled one on another, about nine miles high, and they will weigh about two hundred tons.

This transcript from the original returns of the enumerator to the punched card will be done with small machines, something like typewriters, called keyboard punchers. About one thousand of these will be used, and the entire work of transcribing the 75,000,000 or more individual records will be done in about one hundred working days, or nearly four months.

These punched record cards are then counted, or tabulated, in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the electrical tabulating machines. These machines are provided with a circuit-closing device, into which the cards are rapidly fed one by one. The holes in the card control the electric circuits through a number of counters, which will, as desired, count the simple facts as to the number of males, females, etc., or the most complicated combination which the statistician may ask for. After the cards for a given district are thus passed through the tabulating machine, we know the number of native-born, white males of voting age, the number of white children under five years of age born in this country with both parents native-born, or the number of such children with one or both parents foreign-born, or any other information contained in the enumerators' sheet which the statistician desires tabulated. In short, it is only necessary for the statistician to decide upon the information wanted, and for the electrician to make the proper connection from the counters and relays to the circuit-controlling device into which the cards are fed. The methods employed for checking the proper workings of the machines are ingenious and interesting. If the card is not completely punched, or not properly fed to the machine, or is placed upside down, or if some item has been overlooked, or, in fact, if everything is not all right, the machine refuses to work, and the card is rejected. Neither will the machine work if the circuit-controlling device is operated without a card in place. Such a machine also has the advantage that it will not make mistakes because it is tired or does not feel well, or because the weather is warm, or by reason of the thousand and one causes which will upset the human machine.

At least eight hundred clerks and messengers will be employed to tabulate properly the results derived from the punching machines. There will be, in addition, about five hundred clerks employed by the various statisticians and by the Appointment and Disbursing Division. The purpose now is to move into the new building soon after the first of January. The administrative portion of the building only will be occupied at that time. The main body of the clerks will not be put into service until about July 1, 1900, when the whole force will be marshalled for the work expected of it.

The printing office will also require quite a large force. The absolute necessity of having no delay with the printing and binding of the volumes necessary in order to carry out the general plan,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

makes it requisite that the Bureau should have its own printing office, and it is confidently believed that facilities of this kind will result in materially hastening the publication of the results. Very few have the slightest idea of the enormous amount of material and printing required for the preliminary work in connection with the Census Bureau. Recently an order was given for the paper on which to print the documents for the Agricultural, Population and Manufacturing Division schedules. It was found that there would be needed for these particular branches more than 8,500,000 schedules. For the entire work 25,000,000 will be required. All of these schedules will have to be printed at the Government Printing Office, and be ready for packing so as to be forwarded to the Supervisors early in the coming year.

Such is, briefly, the plan outlined for carrying on what is called the administrative branch of the work.

The general scheme for the collection of the statistical information will be the important part of the inquiry, and it is being prepared more particularly under the staff of statisticians provided for in the Census Act. Statisticians, like physicians, do not always agree upon methods, and, while it is believed that the men who are selected for this work are the very best that can be obtained anywhere in this or any other country, there will probably be more or less criticism, upon the part of theoretical statisticians in different parts of the United States, on the plans adopted for obtaining the desired results. It is believed, however, that the methods which will be finally agreed upon will meet with the approval of the great number of men who give thoughtful attention to this particular branch of this great undertaking.

One of the chief difficulties in census work is the fact that the office has been merely temporary in character. At the close of each census the entire force has been relieved from service and scattered over the country. With the enactment of each law the Superintendent has had to select, in a short time, an entirely new and untrained force, with the exception, perhaps, of a few chiefs of division who had obtained employment in other departments of the Government, after severing their connection with the Census Bureau. This is the condition of affairs which confronts the officials in charge of the Twelfth Census, and it is one of the most serious obstacles with which we have to contend. It is impossible to obtain experienced help in the short time that is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

allowed for testing the merits of each individual. Men are selected, as a rule, to do important work by reason of ability and long experience, and organization is of slow growth. We are compelled, in making up this force, to take hundreds of people about whose character, temperament and ability we have but very slight knowledge. Increased expense is incurred by reason of the rapidity with which the force is gathered. It would seem that if a permanent Census Bureau, or a Bureau of Statistics, were authorized, it would prevent these difficulties. Comparisons of the results of one census with those of another can only be satisfactorily obtained by having a uniform practice or plan of taking each particular census.

Under the Act creating the Twelfth Census Bureau, as remarked above, the four chief subjects, population, vital statistics, agriculture, and manufactures, will have to be completed within two years from June, 1900, and these will be known as the "Census Reports." As soon as the statistics under these heads have been completed, the Bureau is required to take up a great variety of special subjects, among which are the following—the insane, feeble-minded, deaf, dumb and blind; crimes, pauperism and benevolence, social statistics of cities; public indebtedness, valuation, and expenditure; electric light and power, telephone, and telegraph business, transportation by water, express business, and street railway, and mines and mining. These, when published, will be denominated "Special Census Reports."

The average American is, of course, very much interested in the number of our population, and especially so if he lives in a new town in the West, where growing cities offer inducements to new settlers and enhance the sale of town lots. It is not improbable that many of our citizens will be doomed to disappointment when the figures are announced. The distinguished statistician, Mr. Mulhall, in an interesting article in the October number of the REVIEW, estimates our population at 77,300,000. It is possible that he is correct, but it would seem by reason of the decrease in immigration, more particularly since 1893, that we shall hardly obtain the figure that he named. I should say that from seventy-three to seventy-four million is the utmost that we can reasonably expect. Let us trust, however, that Mr. Mulhall is right in his assumption.

While it is interesting to us to know that our country has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

increased in population, a very important feature of this census will be the results of the inquiries concerning the agricultural and manufacturing industries of the country; and our commercial importance, as far as the other nations of the earth are concerned, must be judged by the information obtained concerning these sources of national wealth. It is confidently expected that the coming enumeration in these two important fields will show enormous growth, and will astonish, by their magnitude, the great trading nations of the civilized world. Over one hundred years of constitutional government finds the nation in the highest industrial condition known in its history.

The census, taken at the dawn of the Twentieth Century, marks the greatest epoch in our national life. The age of iron has come to a climax with a force almost dynamic. The world has witnessed the golden age of Augustus, the silver age of Elizabeth, the era of great wars and of wonderful progress in the arts and sciences; but as the Nineteenth Century culminates, behold! the age of iron and steam and electricity, telegraphs, sewing machines, telephones, automobiles; an age which is devoted to material development, to the accumulation of wealth and the upbuilding of vast enterprises, and which hails the advent of the uncrowned king of commerce, the consolidation of great corporate interests. High-water mark in our commercial and industrial life has been attained, and to that fact the vast enumeration to be taken next year will add its testimony. The work of the Twelfth Census will mark the industrial growth of the nation and be another mile-post in its marvelous history.

We contemplate with great content the evidence of material prosperity, and we pardon the good-natured and hopeful patriot who, in his civic pride, waxes enthusiastic over the substantial acquisitions to the wealth of the Republic. But there are some further inquiries to be made by the Census Bureau, which, when the figures are finally tabulated, may cause us to reflect whether, in our desire for "bigness," we are not rather losing than gaining in the higher attributes of national life, which, after all has been said and done, are the chief corner-stones upon which the fabric of the Government, if it is to last, must rest. In the enthusiasm incident to the wonderful commercial advancement that is likely to be shown as the century closes, ought we not to remember that there is much in our national existence which ought to receive

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the thoughtful consideration of all patriotic citizens? Will, or will not, the special inquiries into the subjects more nearly related to our moral and intellectual life reveal tendencies that are detrimental to a loftier national existence? I do not pretend to answer that question, but it is well worth a serious thought. In the mad scramble for wealth, are the duties of citizenship neglected and a less pronounced interest shown in the establishing of a high standard of public service? Will the *data* concerning religious bodies show a marked increase in the number interested in church organizations? Will the inquiry concerning benevolent and charitable institutions demonstrate increasing solicitude for suffering humanity, which seems to be ever present in its most accentuated form as daily good fortune is nearest at hand? Tables will be printed showing our educational status, as indicated by our public school system and by our large universities. Undoubtedly, the end of the century will show extraordinary facilities for obtaining what we call an education, and the further fact that the number accepting the generous gifts of the State in this regard is on the increase. But will there be any evidence that the extraordinary opportunities offered to the young of the nation have furthered our advancement in public morals and set a higher standard of citizenship? We have much to reckon with connected with our method of life as a nation, as we approach the portals of the Twentieth Century; and, while congratulating ourselves that the most generous gifts have been vouchsafed to us, it is well to remember that a grand and enduring citizenship must rest upon something besides mere wealth. It must rest, if it is to endure, upon the moral and intellectual character of the masses as its corner-stone; and the real lover of his country is he who realizes and practises those virtues which result in a higher standard of national life.

May the great count of 1900 surpass all its predecessors, not only in exhibiting the magnitude of our earthly possessions, but in demonstrating as well that we have eclipsed all former periods in our history in attaining the higher moral standard absolutely essential to the permanency of the Republic.

WILLIAM R. MERRIAM.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIR REDVERS BULLER:

A CHARACTER STUDY.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

THERE is no stronger man in the British Empire to-day than the illustrious soldier to whom has been given the charge of our forces in South Africa. Strength is popular among us, and roughness is looked at by the majority of men as the necessary appanage of strength. Around the name of Sir Redvers Buller, accordingly, a persistent legend has arisen, encouraged by certain superficial qualities of his own, which represents him as a martinet, "rough and tough," like Major Joey Bagstock, a mere iron instrument of warfare, from whom it would be extravagant to expect any of the agreeable virtues. To read the complacent descriptions of him in a hundred newspapers, one would imagine him to be something between a bull and a battering-ram; "a silent, saturnine, bloodthirsty man," one of his admirers calls him. A second remarks that "one never thinks of Buller apart from his profession." A third, ardently appreciating his genius, sighs that "it is a pity that he does not succeed in attracting as much affection as he does respect and admiration." To one who has the privilege of knowing Sir Redvers Buller in a strictly non-official capacity, there is something preposterous in these exaggerations of his decisive manner, his forthrightness, his abrupt and blunt address. One is tempted to combat this blood-and-iron legend, and to portray the man as he seems to his friends.

Those who can "never think of Buller apart from his profession" cannot be aware that, with the exception of Lord Wolseley, not one of our great living soldiers has so much to interest him outside his military work as Sir Redvers Buller has. Most of our leading generals cannot be thought of, detached from the army. But if Lord Wolseley had never become a soldier he might

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

very well to-day have been Regius Professor of History at Oxford or Cambridge; while Sir Redvers Buller would certainly have been a very active county magistrate, and probably Minister for Agriculture in a Unionist Cabinet. After 1881, when he was disgusted with the action of Mr. Gladstone, Buller could hardly be dissuaded from throwing up his commission. To a friend who used with him the argument that, if he did so, his occupation would be gone, he replied: "No; I have other things to look to when I cease to be a soldier. You forget how many interests I have." This is a side of his character which is little known, and it is to this that I desire to draw attention.

In the first place, then, those who regard Sir Redvers Buller as a sort of mechanical engine of war, with no thought in his head but of fighting, should be told that this typical soldier springs from an entirely unmilitary family. He is the Squire of Downes, and, as his ancestors have been in a long line, the head of a large Cornish and Devonshire clan of landed gentlemen, identified for centuries with West-country farming and sport. His father, Mr. James Wentworth Buller, was a prominent figure in his day, a man universally respected in the County of Devonshire, which he long represented in Parliament, and in which he spent his whole life in the midst of his tenants. Mr. Buller was a distinguished scholar of Oxford, no sportsman, devoted to literature and art, but, above all, to his civic duties as a country gentleman and a magistrate. He married the daughter of Lord Henry Howard, and Mrs. Buller shared his cultivated tastes, read the same books as he, diffused over the same circle a kindred influence of refinement. This couple, who lived at Downes in a sort of patriarchal state, were the parents of fourteen children, eight sons and six daughters, Sir Redvers being the second son.

From this couple sprang in the next generation a family of strong, sport-loving, farm-loving sons, of whom Sir Redvers was the only soldier. With him the army instinct is not hereditary, but quite individual. He was born to be a leader of fighting men, as others are born to be poets or astronomers. Moreover, until, in 1876, his eldest brother died, he had the salutary position of a cadet in the family. Conscious of immense force and ambition, he was obliged by circumstances to look around for the best mode of developing his powers. Had he been the eldest son of Mr. J. W. Buller, it is extremely unlikely that he would have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

found his business in war at all. And it is important to point out that, while the personal element in his genius is, of course, predominant to-day—while, that is to say, it would be an affectation to speak of him as anything but pre-eminently a soldier—the element of his old life in Devonshire still remains at the base of Sir Redvers Buller's experience and shapes the non-official part of his character. To show in what way they act will be the object of these pages. I wish to emphasize that this "silent, saturnine, bloodthirsty" soldier of the Jingo legend is really a genial county gentleman and a man of refined intellectual culture. In the South African war the Zulus had various names for Sir Redvers Buller; they called him "the Steam Engine," because he was always rushing out of unexpected places, and "the Brother of the Devil," because he led to so much bereavement in their families. These names are good enough for Zulus, and perhaps for a large portion of the English public, but they cannot satisfy Sir Redvers's personal friends.

Those who only know Sir Redvers Buller in his capacity as a soldier must form an incomplete conception of him. He is a very different person in Devonshire and in Pall-Mall. On his Downes estate there is not a blade of grass that he has not watched, not a cottage that he has not planned, not a laborer whom he has not known from a boy. What Sir Redvers really enjoys most, next to starting off upon a campaign at short notice, is the life of a country squire. As a lad he was always in the open air, neglecting his books a good deal, but learning steadily and eagerly in the classes of the *école buissonnière*. He spent his early days at Downes among the farm-laborers, with the woodman, the blacksmith and the carpenter, and before he went to Eton he had managed to pick up a knowledge of many technical things, connected with these occupations, so thorough that it has remained with him ever since. Mingled with this and in complete harmony with it was a passion for hunting, always in those days of a rough and provincial kind. But it was with the Tremlett hounds that Sir Redvers Buller learned that firm seat in the saddle which has served him so well in his wild campaigns. His soldiers have often expressed surprise at his practical knowledge. For instance, in the Zulu War a gun-wagon got jambed in being taken through a deep defile. When the manœuvre seemed hopeless, Sir Redvers got down and showed how the thing was to be done. The men

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could not help expressing amazement. "Oh!" replied the General, "it is only a knack. I learned it from watching the woodmen in the Devonshire lanes when I was a boy."

Sir Redvers Buller's life in the West, of which we never hear anything in London, would be enough to exhaust the energy of some ambitious men. He is untiring in his efforts to improve his land and he does not disdain to be the chief citizen of his little ancient borough of Crediton. He takes an astonishing interest in the affairs of the town. He is Chairman of its School Board, one of the twelve Governors of its Church, and administrator of most of its local charities. When he was extremely busy as Adjutant-General of the British Army, he always made time to go down west to important town-meetings. In consequence he is regarded with great respect and affection in Crediton, while his popularity is unbounded. It is based on his reputation for sympathy and justice, on the long experience of his straightforwardness. The townspeople know that he will never promise to do more than he can perform, and they realize that he is one of themselves, that he thoroughly understands them. Crediton is almost comically proud of Sir Redvers. A mild old man loitering about the church-porch the other day was asked if the Squire was a favorite. "A favorite here? Well, all I can tell you is that if any fellow were to say a word in Crediton against the General, we should rise like one man, and knock him down."

All this dates further back than Sir Redvers's connection with the army. He was sent very early to a hard, rough school in Devonshire, where, as he sometimes says, he "was grounded, at the butt end of a whip, in the Bible," but where he gained little else that was worth learning. And then followed Eton, where he was happy, but with his own pursuits, and where he specially distinguished himself neither in games nor lessons. It was at Eton, and toward the end of his school life, that he determined quite independently to go into the army. But just before joining his regiment he very nearly put an end to everything. He was up in a tree in the woods at Downes, lopping, when he cut his right leg so severely that the Devonshire doctor declared it must be amputated or else he would die. Redvers Buller stoutly replied that he would rather die with two legs than live with one, and he was eventually cured. It has, however, slightly hampered his movements and made him a little less agile than he would otherwise be.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With this exception, Sir Redvers Buller has (so far) lived a charmed life; with all his reckless daring in so many most dangerous campaigns, he has never been seriously wounded.

His eminence as a soldier and the entrancing nature of his military responsibilities have never killed or even scotched the country gentleman in Sir Redvers. He has always been a good cross-country rider, and he hunts still. He was out with the hounds last winter, and he is as fond of hunting and goes as well as ever he did. His keenness for every kind of sport is as remarkable as ever; he seems to palpitate with it. He used to be very fond of racing, and although I fancy that he has given this up, he never fails to be present at the Derby, and he is careful to fit in with his innumerable engagements as many race-meetings as he can. Everybody in the West admits that he is a first-rate judge of a horse. Until lately he was a prominent exhibitor of Red Devon cattle at Smithfield, and very successful. Although, for some reason, he seems to show no longer, he continues to take the greatest interest in his cattle. His fruit-houses and orchards occupy a great deal of his attention. He is eloquent about pines, positively boastful about melons. His special fad is apples; there is a new orchard at Downes, entirely stocked by him with selected apple trees imported from France. That this is no trivial interest may be shown by the fact that the whole of the money awarded to him for his successes in the Zulu War was spent on the improvement of his fruit-houses and orchards.

So much for the natural activities of the man who "can scarcely be thought of apart from his profession as a soldier." I proceed, with some diffidence, to describe what one observes of his mental interests.

In the first place, although Sir Redvers Buller is pre-eminently a man of action, one notes in him that instinctive respect for the life of thought and study which sits so gracefully on a great soldier. This attitude of deference to the intellectual life is, I doubt not, a heritage from the traditions of the family life at Downes, where scholarship and the harmony of books were held in high respect. It is obvious that he himself has never had leisure for any very close or consecutive reading. But I have observed that he has the knack of tearing the heart out of anything that he does read, and in an amazingly short space of time. He is certainly a good instinctive judge of literature, and if he has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not had opportunity to cultivate his judgment with a very wide selection, where his mind does alight is almost always on the purest and richest writers. For poetry he has, perhaps, no particular aptitude. When he was a boy he must have learned Scott's verse-romances by heart, for he retains pages of them still. But in prose Sir Redvers's tastes are definite. Two English classics travel about with him in miniature editions; he never starts on a campaign without Bacon's "Essays" and the "Essays of Elia."

An interesting feature of Sir Redvers Buller's attitude to literature is his special interest in the expression of the individual character of the author. One would suppose that he would read entirely for the matter, but I have been surprised to notice that it always seems to be the manner that attracts him. Among the moderns he has, I think, three prime favorites, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold and George Meredith, and in each he is particularly observant of the style. The penchant of Sir Redvers for Ruskin is so marked as to be quite a feature of his mental life. He was induced to read "Modern Painters" when he was very young, and he has preserved a lively enthusiasm for this author. The only trace of anything like bibliomania to be met with in Sir Redvers Buller's library is the care with which he has brought together a rather large collection of the early editions of Ruskin. He is not a great novel-reader, and I have heard him say that he always begins at the end. He is not, as one might suppose, attracted by hairbreadth adventures and a boisterous plot, but he prefers delicate ingenuities of psychology and a scrupulous style. He has even a certain weakness for sentiment in a story.

At Downes there exists a fine library, originally collected by a Buller of a hundred and fifty years ago, and continued by successive squires, particularly Mr. J. W. Buller. In this library Sir Redvers has from youth taken a peculiar interest, and has added to it all its most modern ornaments. Whenever he can find time, he is to be discovered inspecting and rearranging the volumes, and searching for gaps, which are to be promptly filled. The annex, in which all the recent books are, was constructed by himself out of a dining-room, and while he was making this part of his library he placed all the shelves and arranged the books with his own hands. As I have said, his own tastes lie in the direction of the higher class of *belles-lettres*, but there were left to Downes the scientific and philosophical books of a younger brother, a bequest

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which greatly added to the value of the collection. This brother, who never recovered from being half-eaten by a tiger in India, was a man of very remarkable intellectual powers. There can be no question that Sir Redvers possesses, in a marked degree, the love of books, although his life has been too full of action to permit him to indulge it.

The fine arts have always attracted Sir Redvers Buller. He was an early lover of the Barbizon School, and has been abreast of the wave of taste on several occasions. He soon picks up the elements of any order of connoisseurship, and has, at one time or another, been a collector himself. In this kind of occupation, certain qualities make themselves emphatically felt. Sir Redvers would not be the great general that he is, if his eye were not exquisitely trained to observe. He declares that this is the result in him of patient labor, that he had to learn to see. But the faculty of close and keen observation must have been native with him. Those who think of him only as "the stern, grim soldier" may be diverted to know that on social occasions his eye misses nothing, and disdains not to describe, if necessary, the details of a woman's dress. I have observed him to be particularly sensitive to color. This faculty is but one manipulation of a mind the genius of which lies in great part in its orderly arrangement, its absolute sureness of movement. He is very fond of urging on young men the cultivation of the eye, which he thinks can be deliberately studied and mastered even when there is no natural gift for it. This may, however, be doubted. In all Sir Redvers's personal tastes, I think that a leaning to the great style may be traced. In literature he prefers the masters of language; in music his predilections are classical; among modern artists, while he valued the conversation of Millais and Boehm, his most intimate friend was Leighton, in whose attitude toward art and life he seemed to find particular satisfaction.

It is in his social relations that Sir Redvers Buller has been, as it seems to his friends, most oddly misconceived. This "silent, saturnine man" is not silent at all in company that he likes, and his geniality is often radiant. He is certainly formidable in approach, but those who are bold enough to advance discover that the lions are chained. He can be very trenchant and even fierce, but the blunt mood passes in a moment, and it leaves no wound behind it. Sir Redvers Buller is full of good humor, and, under-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neath a sort of truculence or roughness, there are funds of kindly nature. His reputation for silence arises, perhaps, from his disinclination to be floated on the stream of disconnected chat which so often passes for conversation. He likes to concentrate his mind, and certainly he appears to the best advantage as a talker when he is called upon to give a definite opinion on a particular subject. I think I have noticed that he likes to be so directly appealed to. His advice is always clear and fresh, practical in its bearing, and illuminated by a twinkling humor. On matters of conduct he is just and yet indulgent, often extremely severe, but never either crabbed or vindictive.

He has a singular art in telling his friends their faults without grieving them, and without seeming to take upon himself the rôle of a censor. This I regard as one of the most remarkable of his minor qualities. Without inflicting the least offense, he gives other people a window through which they look and perceive their own defects. One of the most eminent of living generals, a very old friend, is in the habit of saying, "Buller's company is very good for me; he tells me my faults, and I keep near him, just as the old ladies like to live near a cemetery, that I may remember my latter end."

This humor, which pervades his whole attitude of spirit, carries him over all conversational difficulties of this kind. What might else be taken as a reproof is put in such a pithy form that the victim must be a fool indeed if he does not receive it in good part.

All through his life, Buller's first idea has been to do thoroughly whatever he had in hand to do. This has given him the reputation which he possesses of a glutton for work, in and out of season. But this legend he repels, and to people who reproach him with it, he is in the habit of saying: "I do not slave half as much at my work as you do at your play." With this intense concentration on his business, he yet is delightfully lazy. "Oh!" he said only the other day, "I can loaf, on occasion, with the best of you!" It is sometimes noticed that after a spell of exceptionally heavy responsibility Sir Redvers Buller is entirely lazy for a little while; sitting gazing into the fire in winter or lying on the grass in summer. But these intervals never last long. He has lately become a fisherman, and after his close work at the War Office a year or two ago, he gave himself up keenly to salmon

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fishing in Sutherlandshire, and talks of returning to it season by season.

The physical endurance of Sir Redvers is proverbial. As I write these words he is on the point of entering his sixty-first year, yet in mind and body alike he has all the elasticity of youth. No one would dream of calling him an elderly man. This youthfulness of spirit makes him a pleasant companion; and friends much younger in years are encouraged to be natural in his presence. I think that the discordant accounts of Sir Redvers Buller's behavior in the society of men—some representing him as bluff and taciturn, others as singularly genial and open in speech—may be accounted for by a simple formula. He has a fellow-feeling with, and will come out to and meet half way, any man who is interested in doing definite things. He does not demand tastes similar to his own, but he must have reality of some sort. If he fails to find it, he is silent and perhaps harsh. He is really—for all his character as a "martinet"—very indulgent; I have heard him contradict people, but never snub them. Young men who have the advantage of his company in the country, in hunting or shooting with him, always find him geniality itself. And he has another very human side. He feels the infection of youth. He will enter, heart and soul, into a party of young people, marshal their entertainments for them, and even take a world of pains in coaching them for private theatricals. On these occasions he seems to have no other aim in life; he becomes the most juvenile of the juvenile.

There is no doubt that his extraordinary prestige in the English army comes not merely from the illustrious courage and skill of Sir Redvers Buller, but from an almost superstitious confidence which he awakens. Even those who have never seen him believe in him from almost every point of view. He has contrived to make people consider him infallible. Mr. Leveson Gower once asked Lord Welby, with anxiety, "Who superintends the wine cellar of Grillon's Club?" "Why, Buller," was the reply. "Well," said Mr. Leveson Gower, with a gesture of relief, "I don't know anything about military matters, but I am quite sure that Buller must be a real judge of wine." This was but an expression of the instinct which made the demoralized and hunted soldiers in the Soudan smile with satisfaction when they heard he was coming. "There's —— old Buller," they said. "Now we shall be all right

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

again." He gains this reputation, which now amounts almost to that of a fetish, by the serene determination with which he sets about his work. In "The Tragic Comedians" Mr. George Meredith has a phrase literally hammered out to fit Sir Redvers Buller: "The sense of power in him was leonine enough to promise the forcing of a way, whithersoever the path." Sir Redvers has been known to admit, with a little touch of remorse, that it is a fault with him that when he thinks a thing ought to be done he admits no obstacle in the way of its completion.

Once, at a dinner party, a discussion arose as to the relative merits of the Biblical military heroes and of modern generals. Some one, who took the antique side, quoted Joshua as an instance of a soldier the like of whom could not be matched in modern history. Mr. Gladstone, in his vehement way, took this up at once. "Joshua! Joshua!" he exclaimed. "Why, Joshua couldn't hold a candle to Redvers Buller as a leader of men!" This was the more valuable a tribute, in that Sir Redvers was never a supporter or much of an admirer of Mr. Gladstone. But this is the impression the general makes with his imperturbable and cheery force. Just after the bad Fenian times in Ireland, the Government sent him over to Kerry, where everything was being dissolved into anarchy. He found the police force utterly demoralized, without a leader, without loyalty, without a plan. Within a single fortnight they had all rallied round him, and one man expressed the general feeling in declaring, "There's not a policeman in the County of Kerry who would not lay down his life for Sir Redvers." This was the quality which struck General Hawley at the end of the ten years when Redvers Buller had no active service, after the Chinese War. Hawley was miserable with the idea that for want of opportunity such an astounding gift of leadership might be lost to the British army. It is, in fact, not generally known that, toward the end of this time, just as Wolseley, struck with his usefulness, was determining to employ him in the Red River Expedition, Sir Redvers had almost made up his mind to send in his papers and take up the career of a backwoodsman in the wilds of Canada. From this misfortune, at least, the frontier troubles saved the unconscious English nation.

If, finally, one is to try to define what strikes one as the central feature of Sir Redvers Buller's individuality, one is tempted to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

say that it is his keen appreciation of life in all its bearings. There is no more highly organized creature to be found in the range of the seven seas. One is reminded of what Ruskin says of the really well-equipped man: "A gentleman's first characteristic is that fineness of structure in the body which renders it capable of the most delicate sensation; and of structure in the mind which renders it capable of the most delicate sympathies—one may say, simply, 'fineness of nature.' This is, of course, compatible with heroic bodily strength and mental firmness; in fact, heroic strength is not conceivable without such delicacy." There is not a facet of experience that Sir Redvers Buller has not touched; one would conjecture that from every encounter with life he had come back conquering and to conquer. He sometimes says, "The only thing to do is to keep right on," and this march forward is an instinctive movement which makes him admired by many, and perhaps dreaded by not a few. He is never in a state of real quiescence. Somebody said once to him, immediately after his arrival after long perambulation, "I believe that if the truth were known, you would like to start off again to-morrow." "You are quite mistaken," Sir Redvers replied; "I should like to start off to-night." He likes color and light and form, and perceives them with an apprehension that is extraordinarily quick.

It is impossible to describe him as he appears to his friends without touching, however lightly, on sides of character which are too essential to be left unmentioned, and yet too private to be emphasized. But those who know this "saturnine, bloodthirsty martinet" best will certainly think a portrait of him incomplete which does not suggest his sensitive refinement, his chivalrous feeling for women, his deep religious humility. A friend, who understands him as few do, says to me: "Whatever you omit, you must say how tender he is, only you must explain that he never lets you lean upon him, but only stands by you and teaches you to support yourself." The legends of his brusquerie, we shall all be agreed in declaring, start in the first instance from a certain shyness never entirely conquered. When he first came back in glory from the Zulu War, the people in Exeter could not spare him the kind infliction of a banquet. Somebody who saw him at it said that he looked like a captive, suffering agonies of nostalgia, while his exuberant captors were triumphing and drinking deep. "Not here, O Apollo, are haunts meet for thee," we may say to him

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with justice; or we might prove the propriety of his presence at that feast, by quoting against him another of his own familiar dicta: "If there are two courses of action open to you, always choose the disagreeable. It is sure to be the right one."

In this brief attempt at a portrait of our famous general in mufti, I have avoided, of course, the repetition of those public features in him which are like the scarlet coat, the plume, the belted sword. In these days, when he is the central figure of our living history, upon which a million eyes are anxiously fixed, there is no need for me to dwell upon what every one is repeating and what I am particularly ill-fitted to describe. For recapitulations of Sir Redvers Buller's campaigns and prowess in the field, I shall certainly not be called upon. Nor, if he were in England and at peace, or if his fame were not now so transcendent that he has become the broadest public property, should I venture to discuss in any form or any place a man who takes so little pleasure in every species of publicity. But the occasion is exceptional, and I am weary of seeing one side only, and that the most superficial, of his multiform character presented to the world. This is my excuse for attempting a sketch of *Monsieur le généralissime intime*—of Sir Redvers Buller as he appears to his friends.

One word more. The foregoing pages have been read by Lady Audrey Buller, without whose encouragement and co-operation I could not have dared to compose them. But these last lines she will not see until they are published, and I must seize the opportunity they offer me by reminding my readers of what England owes to her also. While her husband leads our armies in South Africa, she sits, not in her country home, but in the midst of the soldiers at Aldershot, superintending the administration of the fund for the widows and orphans. There, in my judgment, she presents as sympathetic a figure as the events of to-day supply to us—the centre of a benevolent activity which finds its reward, I hope, in removing her thoughts from her own anxieties. And I believe that our American friends will hold the devoted philanthropy of the wife scarcely less interesting than the heroism of the husband. "They also serve who only stand and wait."

EDMUND GOSSE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ERIE CANAL AND TRANSPORTATION.

BY EDWARD P. NORTH, MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CIVIL ENGINEERS.

TRANSPORTATION in its great service to mankind, and as administered in this country, may be regarded as the most successful of all applications of labor-saving machinery, one which eliminates as far as possible the disadvantages of position, and so reduces the cost of exchanging property as to give the largest reward to the producer and the maximum product to the consumer, with the result that both, having greater net gains, can increase the capital necessary for further labor-saving machinery.

The most beneficent labor-saving appliances and the greatest contributors to increased capital and the improved condition of mankind, since the power of steam has been employed in production, have been the canal and railway developments in England and, later, the relatively free railroad building, with the improvement of toll-free waterways, in this country.

Unfortunately, a full conviction of the great truths of classical political economy carries with it a necessity of obscuring the fact that the entire cost of transportation must be distributed in some ratio between the producer and consumer. This fact could not be enunciated as among those immediately and intuitively known by the best minds, or the plan for enriching the world by transporting its raw produce to one locality for manufacture and bringing the finished product back would be seen to have less potentiality of wealth than a perpetual motion machine.

Under the necessities of science, the mediæval theory that transportation was only valuable for the tolls that could be exacted has not received the disapprobation from our best thought that it merits; and great statesmen and publicists are still more profoundly impressed by the wealth of Tadmor than by the industrial history of Holland in the seventeenth century, of England in the first half, and of the United States and Germany in the last half of this century.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In spite of well-established theories, it is now seen that the advantages of transportation, either to the public at large or to particular localities, do not lie in the amount of tolls that can be pinched from passing merchandise, but in the fact that the relative cheapness of assembling the raw materials for manufacture and distributing the finished products determines the position of great industries, wealth and world power, though wealth leaves a country more slowly than its industries. Cheap transportation also presents the additional advantage that it encourages the production of bulky and low valued goods which would be prohibited by high freight rates.

The power of Holland, which enabled her to drain Philip's gold and divert the carrying trade of Portugal, was based on the cheap transportation afforded by the mouths of the Rhine and Maas. Thiers said that it took only fifty years, Louis XIV. and Cromwell's Navigation Act, to debase this power. At the commencement of this century, England was better served per square mile by canals than this country was by railroads in 1850; and, up to about 1870, she had the cheapest internal transportation of any country. At that time, the great industrial powers were England, France and the United States, and few thought it possible she could lose her supremacy. But England has not materially reduced freight rates since she adopted free trade. It is said to cost more per mile to get a charter through Parliament than to build a mile of prairie railroad. Every canal, navigable water course and harbor is in the hands of a corporation or trust, and tolls are charged. Her manufacturers now pay a higher rate for assembling their raw materials than the manufacturers of any other country; and, according to Lionel B. Wells, only 18.5 per cent. of her freight is foreign. In 1870 our freight rates were falling below England's, and we took the first place as the world's servant. Now England is fighting with Germany, which is enlarging its waterways, to retain the second place, with a fight with Russia for the third place in sight; for the power of invested capital in England is too strong to allow her to build either larger and toll-free canals or competing railways.*

It was, doubtless, a full mental adhesion to the older com-

* Mulhall gives the following as the average freight rates in cents in the countries mentioned; viz:

United States	0.8	Holland	1.56	Belgium	1.60
Germany	1.64	France	2.20	Russia	2.40
Italy	2.50	United Kingdom			2.80

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mercial theory that inspired two substantially identical replies to the circular letter of the Committee on Canals of New York State, asking the probable effect of a ship canal on the commerce of New York: one from a moulder of the youthful mind in a neighboring institution of higher education, the other from a purveyor of convictions to those of more mature age, viz.: "A ship canal would put an end to the transshipment of goods at New York and lessen, rather than increase, the commerce of the metropolis. . . . I should suppose the interests of the State would be injured rather than benefited by a ship canal;" and, "It would seem that such a canal could not be expected to be of any special advantage to the port of New York, since vessels going through it could readily pass on through that port to their further destination." It should be noted that the ship canal proposed would carry 24,000,000 tons, while the present canal contributes some 3,000,000 tons to our commerce.

The canals of New York have been of great service to the City and the State of New York and to the country. When the Erie Canal was opened for through traffic, in 1825, boats of sixty tons superseded wagons of one to one and a quarter tons. The cost of freight between Buffalo and Albany fell from $100 to $10 per ton. The consequent increase in traffic and wealth justified an enlargement, commenced in 1836, whereby boats of 240 tons burden replaced those of 60 tons, and canal freights fell to three dollars per ton; it also developed the commercial confidence necessary for the construction of the New York Central line and the Erie Railroad.

Transportation by the canals of the State was so relatively cheap that the State was able to collect tolls aggregating nearly $135,000,000 on the merchandise transported, or about 1.5 per cent. on its value. In addition to direct income, which more than returned the cost of the canals, they developed along their banks manufacturing centres and the richest and most intelligent rural population in the world, encouraged emigration and brought the produce of the West to the docks of New York, making that city, with the aid of its natural advantages, the largest exporting and importing port of the country. And they so concentrated the main lines of railroads on the Bay of New York that it has become the cheapest point in the world for assembling the raw materials for manufacture and distributing the finished products. There is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no other place that has equalled it, either in the value of goods produced or in wages paid.

Although boats of more than 240 tons capacity cannot yet pass through the Erie Canal, it carried nearly its maximum tonnage until about 1880. Up to 1850 or 1855, the maximum through train load on the New York Central was 200 tons, or less than a canal boat load. Now trains carrying over 2,000 tons, or more than eight boat loads, do not call for newspaper notice, and no one can safely say that train loads of 3,000 tons are not probable. Until 1880 the canal was the great director of heavy freight traffic; express freight and passengers followed its line. At the last mentioned date, freight-train loads began to approximate 1,000 tons, and the decline in the value of the canal as a freight carrier was rapid. Canal freights have shrunk to about half of what they then were. The Erie Canal cannot be called an efficient director of freights at present. It teases rather than controls railroad freights, and any quotation of statements made by the late Albert Fink as to the influence of the canal on freight rates, however pertinent to the conditions of 1880, are now misleading; they do, however, apply to the opening of lake traffic.

In 1865, Dean Richmond, then President of the New York Central Railroad, refused to co-operate in a raid on the canal, saying that he would rather help to make it two feet deeper, since it was an aid to the railroad. Now an authority not prominently connected with railroads advises that the Erie Canal should be closed. An expenditure for repairs and lock tending of nearly six and a half million dollars, or 21.74 cents per ton moved, during the seven years ending with 1896—an expenditure under which the canals so deteriorated that they were likely to become closed in ten years—may justify the advice, unless the Erie Canal can be restored to public service, by so increasing its capacity that boats carrying at least twice as much as any probable railroad train, can navigate it with speed and convenience.

It is desirable, not only for the city and State of New York, but for all countries consuming either raw or manufactured products, that we should have through the present centres of population, production and consumption in New York a channel of distribution so ample and convenient that, as far as sound judgment can foresee, the minimum freight rates shall be charged

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and, generally, the resistance to transportation shall be less on it than on any other conceivable route between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic.

This can be done only by a canal of such cross section as to pass readily the largest boats navigating or likely to navigate the lakes. It would give every farmer in the West two or three cents more for his grain and increase his purchases from New York city. It would restore the central part of the State to the relative prosperity of fifty years ago, triple if not quadruple the traffic of the port of New York, and perpetuate its supremacy as a manufacturing and commercial centre.

Elevator interests oppose to such a contribution to the wealth of the country, a scheme analogous to what the people of Buffalo and New York, forty-five years ago, were denouncing as the Erie "pie shop" policy, because that Pennsylvania town insisted on a break of gauge that it might realize transfer profits.

The decline in the service rendered by water courses of small or shallow cross-section is not peculiar to the State of New York. Both in this country and in Europe, small water courses are being abandoned or disused; but any reference to this fact not including the relation between the capacity of the boats usable on such waterways and that of competing railroad trains evinces either ignorance of the governing factor in the case or carelessness in statement. Von Regierungs und Baurath Sympher shows the influence of large and small waterways on traffic in a late paper on the increase of traffic on German waterways. During the twenty years ending with 1895, the traffic on the smaller waterways has increased by 36 per cent.; on the seven large ones by 236 per cent. In the same time the traffic on the French waterways has increased by 92 per cent. The larger German waterways carry boats of about 800 tons, and the French interior navigation is limited, except on the Seine and Rhone, to boats of 300 tons. The largest German traffic is on the Rhine between Kehl and the frontier of Holland. The improvement of the Main between Frankfort and Mainz is of interest, both because it is an example of sound German engineering and it has added materially to the traffic of the Rhine. The low water depth of the Main was two and a half feet, and its traffic was decreasing until 1883, when its depth was increased to seven and a quarter feet, although the governing depth of the Rhine below its mouth was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only six feet. The result has been an increase in the annual tonnage from about 150,000 to 1,500,000 tons. Concurrently the railroad freight of Frankfort has almost doubled.

Deepening the St. Lawrence below Montreal from eleven to twenty-seven and a half feet, combined with present operations to secure thirty-five feet, has resulted in increasing the tonnage of the port by 750 per cent. since 1853.

Our St. Mary's Falls Canal, generally called the "Soo," connecting Lake Superior with the Lower Lakes, has added greatly to the comfort and convenience of mankind. It was opened in 1855 under a State charter, having two lift docks, with eleven and a half feet on their mitre sills; tolls were charged at an average rate of four cents per registered ton until 1880, when its traffic was 1,734,890 tons. In 1881, a single lift lock with seventeen feet in its mitre sills was opened by the general Government, and the canal was free from tolls. Three years later, when 2,997,837 tons passed, 89 per cent. of the traffic was carried in vessels of too great draft for the old locks.

In 1890 the tonnage through this canal exceeded that through the Suez, which carries the traffic between the Pacific coasts of Asia and Africa on the one hand, and Europe and the Atlantic coast on the other. Since 1895 the tonnage passing the Soo has been more than double that through the Suez Canal.

In 1895 the Canadian lock, with twenty feet, and in 1896 another American lock, with twenty-one feet on its mitre sills, were opened. This is called the Poe lock, after the late General O. M. Poe, who, in spite of the protests of those owning what with larger channels would become small boats, successfully advocated the larger lock, and the twenty-foot channel through the lakes. From 1855 to the present time the lake channels have been deepened from nine and a half to twenty feet.

For the last twelve years the Government engineers in charge of the canal have, with the kindly co-operation of the Canadian authorities, kept statistics of the tonnage, value, distance transported, and cost of transportation, of the freight carried past the Soo. The figures for the twelve years are: 144,077,891 tons, valued at $1,705,009,823, carried an average distance of 827 miles, at a cost of $133,838,729, or an average rate of 1.123 mills per ton mile. The average value of the freight, which has varied by years from $13.83 to $10.59, was $11.14, and the lake carriers

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

received 7.85 per cent. of this value for transportation. The yearly rates have varied from 2.3 mills per ton mile in 1887 to .79 of a mill for 1898. As the Canadian lock was not opened until September 9, 1895, it will be satisfactory to state that the average of the rates for the nine years ending with 1895 was 1.89 mills, as against .87 of a mill for the three succeeding years.

During the time under consideration, railroad freights have been higher than lake freights, and have not fallen so fast; and the cost of an equal amount of ton-mileage at railroad rates would have been over one thousand million dollars, or 60.32 per cent. of the value of the goods transported; a percentage which would have prevented the production of three-quarters of the freight marketed. The difference between the two sums, $894,596,789, is not the full measure of the beneficence bestowed on the people of this country by that improved waterway. It is to be measured by the value of this freightage when prepared for consumption, which would much more than double the last figures.

For the three years since the deeper locks have been in use, the average assumed difference between lake and railroad costs has been $117,115,262, which is equivalent to an annual dividend of 36.5 per cent. on the total appropriations by the Government for all improvements of rivers and harbors. It has been objected to such benefits as accrue from public improvements of our waterways, that they cause us to look on the Government as a giver of gifts, but it will immediately appear that a Government which has no higher aspirations than to conserve the sordid holdings of those too selfish to put their capital into productive enterprises, has no excuse for existence.

In this place it may be said of the Nicaragua Canal, that no one, even to convince himself, can seriously argue that the traffic between the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of this country and its ports on the Pacific can be measured by that out of Lake Superior, or even by the forty million tons of freight that passed Detroit in 1898, or that the saving per unit of freight would be less. The Nicaragua Canal, as giving us the shortest practicable water route, should be built by the United States and maintained free from toll.* The great traffic through that canal will be a coasting traffic and under our flag, as is 98 per cent. of that through

*For the three years ending with 1897 the tolls collected on the Suez Canal have averaged $1.92 per net registered ton passing. The yearly average is nearly $16,000,000

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Soo. And where Americans conduct the traffic, the service will be performed at the minimum cost. The wisdom of depriving American interests of three or four hundred million dollars a year for an indefinite period on the plea that ten per cent. on half of this sum may possibly be saved in the original outlay is at least questionable.

As our parasitic class thinks it does a service to the capital invested in railroads by denouncing river and harbor bills, an effort has been made to discover the effect of the low lake-freight rates on both the tributary roads and those which at the same time are fed by them and compete with them. The result is as shown in the accompanying table. Too much labor was involved in an effort to trace the capital, net earnings, etc., of the roads northwest of Chicago, so only the mileage is given, and its relation to the total mileage in the country. For the trunk lines it has been possible to present the necessary figures since 1870. As Mr. John P. Meany, the editor of "Poor's Manual," has been kind enough to either check or furnish the figures employed, the table may be accepted as free from errors, due either to ignorance or an excessive trust in a theory.

	Net registered tonnage through the Soo.	Miles of railroad in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota.	Percentage of total.	Miles in Dakota, Montana and Idaho.	Percentage of total.	Stocks and bonds of N. Y. C. & H. R., L. S. & M. S., Mich. C., Erie, Penn., & P., Ft. W. & C. R. Rds.	Per cent. of net earnings.	Ton mileage. 1 = 1,000,000	Freight earnings.	Average ton mile rate. Cents.
1855	106,296	757	3.5	.....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	....
1870	690,826	4,235	7.9	.....	....	$436,523,095	6 93	3,798.2	$60,542,437	1.59
1881	2,092,757	11,117	10.6	2,136	2.0	663,687,725	7.36	12,199.3	93,958,750	0.78
1898	18,622,754	20,733	11.1	9,617	5.2	1,054,922,566	5.22	23,777.9	128,911,069	0 54

It will be seen that neither in Michigan nor in any State west of it has the water traffic injured railroad building. Nor has the healthy development of capital by the trunk lines been arrested. The ton mile rate has fallen, so that one dollar which in 1870 would transport a ton 62.9 miles would carry it 128.2 miles in 1881, and 185.2 miles in 1898. In other words, about 66 cents out of each dollar expended for freight in 1870 remains to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be divided between producer and consumer in 1898, or the length of haul may be three times as long.

These rates have been forced down partly by the competition of the water route, and partly by the larger volume of freight offered through the increased wealth and production due to the lower rates. But it would be as fallacious to say that the freight earnings for 1898 would have been four hundred and sixty-seven, instead of one hundred and twenty-nine, million dollars if the rate of 1870 had been maintained, as to claim that, if our railroads had collected the rates current in England, they would have earned over three thousand million, instead of less than nine hundred million dollars, as they did. Notwithstanding its great wealth, the country is not rich enough to pay the British rate for transportation. It cannot, however, be disputed that, during the twenty-nine years mentioned, the interest on capital invested in railroads has fallen, and though the study is not as exhaustive as desirable, it shows that the fall has not been as great as in other businesses, and it will probably be thought sufficient to clear the river and harbor bills from any more serious charge in the interest of capital invested in railroads than causing some trouble to railroad managers. This is different from the generally received view, but that is based on a failure to notice that bankrupt roads generally do not have their traffic developed by ample waterways.

Inadequate water courses are now losing traffic or being abandoned. Ship canals are being built and planned, and in this country, Germany, Russia and France the cross-sections of navigable ways are increased, that wealth may be augmented by cheaper transportation. And though no other traffic route concentrates as great a trade as that of Detroit River, namely, 40,000,000 tons—two-thirds of which, it is estimated, is raw material on its way to an increase of value through the expenditure of further labor—a large party in the State of New York insists, with a former Superintendent of Public Works, that: "It is clearly evident that the duty of the Legislature will be to provide the means for the construction of the largest possible canal, intended for the navigation of boats of such construction as will be able to navigate the inland waters of this State, discharging and receiving their cargoes at Buffalo and New York, or the other intermediate points."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This has been the practice for seventy-three years. Two transfers, one at Buffalo and the other at New York, have been maintained. In a report made in 1896 by a board of Government engineers, it is stated that "the cost of once unloading and reloading a cargo of coal would carry it, at the rates of 1894, 291 miles on the Erie Canal, or 946 miles on the lakes." This is about equal to the distance between Chicago and Buffalo for the lakes, and would land eastbound freight half way between Little Falls and Schenectady for the canals. Of course, such transfer charges prohibit the vast volume of freight passing Detroit entering this State for manufacture. In the meantime, the farming lands in the centre of the State are being depopulated through the lack of local markets, and in the twenty years ending with 1890 the population of Rochester, Syracuse, Rome and Utica, cities on a waterway of small cross-section, increased by only 93.5 per cent., while that of Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago, cities on a waterway of large cross-sections, increased by 209 per cent. And the heads of Seneca and Cayuga lakes, which are as near to one-half of the coal produced in Pennsylvania as Erie, and as near to 60 per cent. of this coal as Cleveland, could be made great manufacturing and shipping points in the service of Lake Ontario and St. Lawrence ports, as well as of this country, but are now undisturbed by prosperity.

The provision that boats shall receive and discharge their cargoes at Buffalo and New York shuts all but three out of the forty million tons passing Detroit from access to New York by water carriage; it decreases the value of all raw material produced west of Buffalo, without increasing the value of that produced east of that point; it increases the cost of finished products to all who are reached by our commerce; it impedes the investment of capital and employment of labor in the State, thereby diminishing its resources, and it does not help the railroads. The continued maintenance of two toll gates in this State, that the few may receive large gains from handling the minimum amount of merchandise, to the loss of the many, is a commercial outrage, and we have to go back to the revenue reforms of the Rhine barons for an analogue.

Public attention has never been effectively called to the relations between manufacturing and commerce at the port of New York. The following figures are given to the nearest

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

million dollars. The census of 1890 shows that the value of manufactured products in the old City of New York was $777. In Greater New York, with Jersey City, Hoboken and Newark, it was $1,201, and the wages paid in manufacturing in the above cities was $335. For the fiscal year 1890, the foreign commerce of this country was $1,647; exports, $858; imports, $789. For the port of New York, exports were $348, imports $516; total, $864. It will be seen that the value of manufactures produced on what may be called the Bay of New York was about three-quarters of that of the total foreign commerce of the country, and the wages paid nearly equalled the value of exports from the port.

This spring the Hon. Joseph Nimmo, Jr., estimated the value of manufactured products in the old City of New York at $1,000, and if this estimate is correct and industry has increased proportionately over the whole area, the value of manufactured products must be for this year $1,546, and the payment of wages $431, or decidedly greater than the value of imports received at this port in 1898. If, as economists say, commodities exchange for commodities, the factories on the Bay of New York are worth more to the farmers of this country than the markets of the whole world outside of the United States.

The relation between the factories in the area mentioned and the commerce of the port or the country is not so easily obtained, but a valuable approximation can be reached. The total foreign trade of the United States for the fiscal year of 1898, the figures representing the nearest million as before, was $1,847, viz.: Imports $616, domestic exports $1,210, foreign exports $21. Of the exports of domestic merchandise $921, or 24.1 per cent., were classed as manufactures. The foreign commerce of this port was $848, viz.: Imports $402, domestic exports $437, foreign exports $8. Neither the exports nor imports are classified by ports, but through the kindness of Collector Bidwell and the statistical staff at the Custom House, it may be said that the value of articles in classes "B" and "C," viz., "articles in crude condition, which enter into the various processes of domestic industry," and "articles wholly or partially manufactured for use as materials in the manufactures and mechanics arts," imported in 1898, was $149, or 37 per cent. of the port's imports. If the $28 worth of various cloths, which generally have a further increase of value given them before use, is added, we will have 44

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

per cent. as the proportion of the port's imports dependent on manufactures.

The value of articles of domestic make exported from this port in 1898, which appear to be fairly included in classes "B" and "C," was $155, or 35.5 per cent. of total domestic exports. The value of all breadstuffs, $100, or 22.8 per cent., and the value of grain $74, or 17 per cent. of the exports. Thus it seems that approximately, $333, or 39.6 per cent., of the foreign trade of the port of New York was directly contributed by local and tributary manufacturing industries.

Efforts to maintain the present stricture between the 40,000,000 tons of freight passing Detroit and the probable 70,000,000 tons of shipping, domestic and foreign, in the harbor of New York, as well as efforts to have any improvement limited to such size as will require a continuance of transfers, are not only inimical to the interests of the State, which could and should manufacture as much per mile front of a competent canal as is manufactured on an equal frontage on the Sound in Connecticut and Rhode Island, but are inimical to the largest and most productive interests of the city and its neighborhood. The influence of allied capital, which is making money, over public and legislative opinion is illustrated by the fact that although State Engineer Sweet read a widely discussed paper before the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1884, advocating a radical enlargement of the Erie Canal, the State has not yet appropriated one cent to establish the probable cost of such an addition to its wealth.

Lately a Deep Waterways Commission has been appointed to report on routes between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic. As the Venetians joined the Turks in the sixteenth century to oppose the exhibition of Portuguese Christianity in the Orient, that their profits on an expensive trade route might be retained, some power has joined the Canadians in enacting that the people of the United States shall pay for surveys and a report that, as far as it is effective, cuts out from the advantage of an improved waterway the two hundred and fifteen miles between Tonawanda and Rome, the Commission not feeling at liberty to ride over this portion of the canal in a steam launch offered by the State Engineer, and offers the commerce that sweeps by Detroit the advantages of an easy descent to Montreal, or the necessity of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

locking up one hundred and sixty feet from Lake Ontario to Rome. Instead of a canal fed from Lake Erie, descending continuously to the Hudson and discharging a copious supply of water into that stream, it is proposed to construct an aqueduct to feed the Rome level. The realization of this scheme would require the rearrangement and reconstruction of all trunk lines south of the St. Lawrence. The Senators and Representatives of the State of New York seem to be holding the garments of those engaged in the transaction.

Considering the growing tendency on the part of State Railroad Commissioners to restrict competitive railroad building, it is quite possible that the City of New York may find a differential on package freight, as well as on grain, enforced against its commerce with no possibility of redress, or effective threat of retaliation by building a competing road.

Some assertions made by advocates of the present state of canal transportation may be noticed:

I. "The cost will be prohibitive." The most obstructive estimate of cost known is $250,000,000. This is five and three-quarter cents out of every dollar of assessed value in the State. A forty-year bond at 3 or even 3½ per cent. on this proportion of our wealth should not permanently enfeeble the State.

II. "Traffic can be conducted at less cost in a small or shallow canal than in one of greater size." Acceptance of this thesis requires that one should believe that the smaller the channel the less is the friction. Nor is it true that small boats in a tow are as objectionable as weak cars in a freight train. Small and large boats are towed together without injury on all streams of large traffic.

III. "Steamers cannot be successfully used both on the ocean and lakes." The assertion is ventured that it would be impossible to find a steamship builder in the world who would stand up before three of his fellows and say that he could not build a successful boat for service in both shallow and deep, in fresh and salt water.

EDWARD P. NORTH.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE IMPERIAL GALLERY OF THE HERMITAGE. III.

BY CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

Not the least sensible loss sustained by England when the Walpole collection was carried off by Russia was that of the unique series of seven finished sketches in oils, all from Rubens's own brush, giving the designs for the triumphal arches and temporary decorations erected upon the solemn entry into Antwerp of the Cardinal-Infant, Don Fernando de Austria, only brother of Philip IV. of Spain, after the victory over the Swedes at Nordlingen. The remaining sketches belonging to the same series are to be found in English and other private collections, and in the Museum of Antwerp. Nowhere is the wonderful facility and decision, the inexhaustible fertility of the master, more victoriously displayed. But to return for a moment to the domain of sacred art, in which several things of importance remain to be noticed. In many ways the most beautiful of all Rubens's Madonnas is the "Virgin and Child" (painted about 1515), which was acquired from the Crozat collection. Both in this piece, and in a similar but much inferior "Virgin and Child" which subsequently entered the Hermitage from the Galitzyne collection, the model is Isabelle Brant, as later on it will almost invariably be Hélène Fourment. The Crozat picture shows the Madonna in a brilliant red robe with a blue mantle lined with mauve-pink. The picture is marked by an unusual tenderness and naïveté throughout, especially beautiful being the caressing and trustful action of the fair-haired child Christ as He affectionately strokes the cheek of the Virgin. Somewhat unusual for this period is the little shirt of white linen in which He is clothed, and this suggests that the work may have originally been destined for nuns.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Virgin Presenting a Cope to St. Ildefonso" is the sketch, or rather the finished design, for one of the most famous works of Rubens—the great altarpiece painted in or about 1632, at the command of the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, for the chapel of St. Ildefonso in the Church of St. Jacques at Brussels, and now one of the chief glories of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. Here, much as in the remarkable sketch for the "Elevation of the Cross," in the collection of Captain Holford at Dorchester House, we find the artist painting on one unbroken surface the composition of which he will subsequently, with the inevitable alterations and suppressions, make a triptych. The "Head of a Franciscan Monk" serves to recall one of the most genuine inspirations of Rubens, the "St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata" of the Cologne Museum—a picture which would enjoy a much higher celebrity were it placed in a gallery more frequented by the ordinary traveller. The St. Petersburg head is evidently—as M. de Somof points out in his catalogue—a life-study for the figure of the saint in ecstasy in the great canvas just mentioned. A quieter but a more penetrating pathos informs those works of Rubens which illustrate the legend of the gentle St. Francis than is discoverable in the flamboyant and splendid pages, in which, with a passion genuine and ardent of its kind, yet for all that superficial, he has depicted the Passion of Christ. His "Death of St. Francis" in the Antwerp Gallery is in many important respects his master-work in the domain of sacred art. A Walpole picture is also the sumptuous full-length of Hélène Fourment, the exceeding beauty of the execution in which entitles it to be considered one of the very finest—if not, indeed, the finest—of all the avowed portraits of Rubens's second spouse. The already exuberant charms of the youthful lady, the worship of whose very earthly loveliness filled too great a place in the last ten years of his life, are much more reticently displayed than in such portrait-studies—of extraordinary *intimité*—as the "Hélène Fourment in a Pelisse" of the Vienna Gallery and the wholly undraped "Andromeda" which from the Blenheim collection has passed to Berlin. As in the portraits at The Hague and Munich, as well as in the two renowned canvases which, coming from Blenheim, now occupy places of honor in Baron Alphonse de Rothschild's Paris residence, Hélène stands forth the Flemish lady of well-defined position, attired with exceeding mag-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nificence, yet with a certain moderation controlling splendor. She has evidently been trained by her illustrious consort to support by her dress and demeanor his own artistic and official dignity, while displaying to the utmost advantage the beauty of which he is to be to the very end the willing slave. Apt as are all women in such matters, she has, moreover, learnt her lesson well.

Some of Van Dyck's very finest work is at the Hermitage, and it may safely be said that nowhere is the exquisite accomplishment in every successive phase of his technique, or the aristocratic charm of his manner, more convincingly impressed upon the beholder. In thus acknowledging the unsurpassed beauty of the group of Van Dycks at the Hermitage, one need not be unmindful of the noble series of portraits to be found both at Munich and at Cassel, of the altarpieces and works of sacred art at Antwerp and elsewhere in Flanders, of the magnificent portraits and pieces in several styles at Madrid, of the vast riches in this direction of the Louvre, or of the Van Dyck Gallery at Windsor, which in its full illustration of the English period must be deemed unique. Let it not be forgotten, moreover, that no survey of the art of Rubens's greatest pupil would be complete without the most careful study of Prince Liechtenstein's gallery at Vienna, of Earl Cowper's pictures at Panshanger, of the Wallace Collection at Hertford House, of the Van Dycks at Wilton House, at Petworth, at Althorp, at Dorchester House, and in many another English collection. Monsieur de Somof is to be applauded for boldly cataloguing as a Van Dyck—in accordance with the opinions of Dr. Bode, of Berlin—the splendid "Isabelle Brant," which so long passed as a Rubens and even now, by M. Max Rooses, the biographer-in-chief of the great painter, is strenuously claimed for him and denied to his pupil. The deep yet ardent note of the coloring, the characteristic exaggeration in the rendering of mouth, nostrils, and eyes, the brown flesh tints—all these things point to the initial stage of Van Dyck's career, when, before riding away to Italy to mature his art, but to temper and abate under outside influences the fiery ardor of his genius, he did work of a promise which not even the perfect achievements of the later time quite carried out. We must class with this portrait the superb group *"Suzanne Fourment et sa Fille Catherine,"* which, as the title indicates, represents an elder sister of Rubens's spouse, Hélène, whom we see

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also in the famous *"Chapeau de Paille"* (or Poil?) of the National Gallery, as well as in a half-length in the Louvre. The likeness to the plumper and more blonde sister is unmistakable, but there is a marked resemblance to Rubens's first wife, Isabella Brant, who, be it remembered, was the aunt of the two younger ladies. The right name was first given to the sister by M. Max Rooses, who, nevertheless, claims for this canvas, as for the "Isabelle Brant," the authorship of Sir Peter Paul himself, and deems that the master is here seen completing the work of a pupil. The attribution to the youthful Van Dyck is in this instance still further confirmed by a comparison with the pair of beautiful portraits, unquestionably belonging to his first time, which adorn the Stroganoff collection in the rococo palace of that name on the Newski Prospect at St. Petersburg. These represent, in two companion canvases, personages who are supposed to be Nicholas Rockox, his wife and children. They show the same firmness of accent, the same crisp, feverish touch, the same strong impasto in certain passages which are to be noted in the "Isabelle Brant" and the "Suzanne Fourment" of the Hermitage. There will be, as the writer imagines, a general assent to the opinion that the large *Vierge aux Perdrix,"* or *"Vierge à la Fronde d'Anges"* (Walpole collection), is the most beautiful of all Van Dyck's sacred subjects. It shows with a happy grace and naïveté which the painter has well known how to combine with dignity and a reverent spirit, the Virgin seated under a fruit-tree and holding the little Christ on her knees. The little St. John and seven boy angels dance joyfully in a ring, smiling to the answering smile of the infant Saviour. Overhead affrighted partridges take wing—a minor yet distinctive peculiarity from which the picture has been named. The reminiscence of Titian, the influence of his large, gracious manner in sacred art, is so evident as to require no emphasizing. All the same, the *"Vierge aux Perdrix"* is too unmistakably Flemish and too unmistakably the master's own to be placed in the special class of the Italian Van Dyck avowedly imitated from the splendid Venetian. It was done for one of the Princes of Orange, and must belong to the time immediately following upon the return of the youthful master to Antwerp at the close of his fruitful journey through Italy. Of the four extant repetitions, or copies, by far the best is one, of considerably smaller dimensions, which hangs in the Pitti Palace, and just be-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cause it is there, is better known to the picture-lover than the original. This, though it is much weaker in execution than the Hermitage picture, may indeed be the earlier version, since the conception is far more Titianesque. In the Suermondt Gallery at Aix-la-Chapelle is an original sketch which, from internal evidence, proves itself to be a preliminary study for a portion of the picture.

The "Portrait of Lazarus Maharkysus, a physician of Antwerp," though it must have been painted in Flanders, still shows the deep, rich, solemn color and the poetry of conception which mark the portraiture of the Italian period. Very interesting, as bearing the signature of the artist and the date 1629, are the pendant portraits, "Adriaan Stevens" and "An Aged Lady." It is with considerable surprise that one finds the learned director stating in the catalogue of 1895 that the "Portrait of Van Dyck in Youth" is not from the hand of the artist, but the free copy of a lost original. The St. Petersburg picture, which bears a resemblance, by no means, however, amounting to identity, to the auto-portraits at Munich, in the Academy of Fine Arts at Vienna, and in the collection of the Duke of Grafton, is unquestionably an original painted with great ease and breadth, though without much solidity, and giving a more realistic version of the young painter's individuality than he generally favored the world with. It is only fair to M. de Somof to add that it is his intention—verbally expressed to the writer—to restore this portrait to Sir Anthony in the next edition of his catalogue. The Van Dycks which came to Russia with the Walpole collection are not all of equal value. For instance, in the stately full-length "Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby," the treatment of the head is hard and cold, very little recalling the artist's usual manner. In the full-length "Sir Thomas Wharton"—a good though not a very interesting *portrait d'apparat*—the hand of Van Dyck's best pupil, Dobson, is very apparent. The two pendant full-lengths, "Charles I." and "Henrietta Maria"—the Stuart King being in armor and his queen *par exception* in a robe of crimson satin—are again not as absolutely first-rate, or as exclusively Van Dyck's own, as the best portraits of his royal patron and his family usually were. These portraits are all of the same exceptional interest, if only because they appear in the famous list of pictures not paid for, sent in by Van Dyck to the King in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1639, when he was already in financial straits, and by Charles considerably cut down before he satisfied his favorite artist's claim. The Hermitage full-lengths appear respectively as *"Le Roi en armes, donné au Baron Warto"* (Lord Wharton) and *"La Reyne au dit Baron."* They were charged £50 apiece, but the King, in a fit of parsimony or pique, took £10 off the price of each picture.

The "Portrait of Inigo Jones" (Walpole Collection), is a work which Englishmen might legitimately desire to see in the National Portrait Gallery. Painted with the utmost solidity and care, it yet suggests somehow that the brilliant Antwerper was but moderately interested in the personality of his accomplished sitter, the greatest of English architects, with the sole exception of his successor, Sir Christopher Wren. The most beautiful portrait by Van Dyck in the Hermitage, and one of the most popular of all his works of this class, is the three-quarter length "Lord Philip Wharton" (Walpole collection), painted in 1632, when the sitter was some nineteen years of age. He appears here in a landscape, richly yet simply dressed in a steel-gray doublet, with a mantle of dark yellow falling from his right shoulder, the background being partly filled by a drapery of rich, dark green. The delicate, sensitive beauty of the youthful face has in it nothing effeminate, though there is—as in the likenesses of Van Dyck himself, and in those of so many among the youthful sitters in whom he delighted—excess of sensibility. Here is a veritable cavalier of those who so willingly gave up lands and laid down life for the King. Remembering even the "Lord John and Lord Bernard Stuart" in Earl Cowper's collection at Panshanger and that essentially different portrait—a group of the same young noblemen in the Earl of Darnley's collection at Cobham—remembering, too, the "Prince Maurice and Prince Rupert" of the Louvre—the writer still ventures to record his opinion that the "Lord Philip Wharton" is Van Dyck's most exquisite creation in a phase of portraiture in which he has never been surpassed. To find a presentment as exquisite in sensitiveness and feeling, as accomplished in the portrayal of aristocratic youth at that the interesting moment between adolescence and manhood, one must go back to Giorgione and Titian, conjuring up the "Young Man" of the former in the Berlin Gallery and the Giorgionesque *"Jeune Homme au Gant"* of the latter in the Louvre; or one must recall, as a type of youth more haughty and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resolute, the so-called *"Portrait d'un Sculpteur"* by Angelo Bronzino, in the last-named gallery. To a later time in the English period must belong the hardly less delightful picture, "William II. Prince of Nassau," showing Charles I.'s son-in-law at the age of twelve years or thereabouts.

Adrian Brouwer is fairly but not splendidly represented at the Hermitage by four originals, of which one is the repetition of a picture in the incomparably fine collection of the artist's works to be found in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich. This ardent realist, who often surpassed Teniers himself in passionate truth to nature, as in richness of color-harmony, is not as yet represented in the National Gallery of England. Fortunately both the Wallace collection and the Dulwich Gallery contain first-rate examples of his powers. We cannot pause on the present occasion to notice the works of Gonzales Coques, of Craesbeeck, of Gaspard de Crayer, or even of Jordaens, though the intensely vigorous and exuberantly fleshy art of this Fleming, who was never actually Rubens's pupil, as has been generally assumed, is represented by a number of important examples. Let us pass on to David Teniers the younger, who is represented here as he is in no other collection in the world. No less than forty-three specimens of his wonderful craftsmanship hang in a section specially set aside for them of the gallery devoted to the later Netherlandish schools. If the truth must be told, the brilliant executant does not pass unscathed through such an ordeal as this. He by no means consults Nature on every occasion at first hand, but contents himself too often with skillfully dishing up, with insufficient variety if with unfailing technical charm and power, a number of well-worn types, incidents, and landscapes. One example there is of transcendent beauty and quite exceptional character, to find a parallel for which it is necessary to recall the greatest triumphs of Netherlandish art dealing with the corporate and municipal life of the cities. This is the large and elaborate composition, *"Les Arquebusiers et les Membres des Corporations d'Anvers,"* painted originally from the Archers of St. Sébastien d'Anvers. It was before the Napoleonic wars in the collection of the Landgrave of Hesse at Cassel, and passed next into the gallery of the Malmaison, whence, with a great number of works of price, chiefly by Netherlandish masters, it was sold by the Empress Josephine

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the Emperor of Russia. Teniers, putting aside for the occasion his humor—generally thinner and more forced in quality than that of the true Dutchman—assumes here without effort the superb gravity which all Netherlanders alike were seemingly able to put on when they approached a subject like this one, which, outwardly prosaic as it might seem to the casual observer of to-day, was eminently calculated to recall the national struggles and the national glories. Teniers here rivals on a smaller scale, and with a finish for which the Haarlem master rarely strove, the sharpness and brilliancy, combined with solidity, of Frans Hals. One of the most interesting features is the background with an elaborate representation of the *Grande Place* of Antwerp in front of the Hôtel de Ville.

The greatest attraction of the Imperial Gallery, the one in virtue of which it can claim a certain uniqueness, even among the finest museums of Europe, is after all the unparalleled group formed by its Rembrandts. The mere mention of the Hermitage at once sets the Rembrandt student, as well as the connoisseur with wider views, longing to see its extended series of examples by the Leyden master, among which are included some of his finest works. M. de Somof's catalogue shows forty paintings classed as his, irrespective of the "Christ and the Woman of Samaria," quite recently discovered by him. Making the fullest allowance for a scepticism well founded in a very few instances, we may put the number of authentic Rembrandts at the Hermitage at thirty-six or thirty-seven, while the Stroganoff, Youssoupoff and Davidoff collections in the Russian capital contain, in addition, between them six or seven first-rate examples. Cassel and Paris come next in order, but lag far behind in point of numbers. After these galleries precedence belongs about equally to Berlin, the British National Gallery, and Dresden. Munich and Vienna, the Liechtenstein Gallery in the latter city, Buckingham Palace and the Wallace collection in London, and, last but not least, the series brought together of late years by M. Rodolfe Kann, of Paris—all these are notable gatherings of famous works by the master who is just now occupying the whole world. It has been thought best to keep quite separate in this enumeration the Ryks Museum of Amsterdam, with its two world-famous pieces, "The Company of Captain Frans Banning Cocq (The Night Watch)" and "The Syndics." The Her-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mitage, splendidly, unsurpassedly representative as it is, a little lacks those Rembrandts to which all our sympathy as well as all our admiration is given. It has nothing that quite answers to "The Pilgrim at Emmaus" and "The Good Samaritan" of the Louvre, to "The Vision of Daniel" of the Berlin Gallery, the "Hannah and Samuel" of the Bridgewater Gallery, the "Jacob Blessing the Children of Joseph," at Cassel, or to that pearl among Rembrandt's landscapes, "The Mill," at the Marquis of Lansdowne's seat of Bowood. Still, take it all in all, the St. Petersburg pictures constitute the most remarkable group of the master's works to be found in any permanent collection. This is not the place to enumerate them one by one, or to discuss critically the one or two canvases in respect of which some doubt has arisen. The "Descent from the Cross" of 1634 equals in grandeur and intensity, while it far surpasses in completeness, the smaller but entirely similar picture painted in the preceding year (1633) for Prince Frederick Henry of the Netherlands, and now at Munich. "The Incredulity of St. Thomas" of 1634 shows the violence, allied to a certain vulgarity of expression, which we find not infrequently in the ultra-dramatic works of the earlier time. Famous is the so-called "Jewish Bride" of this same year, which has been very generally—though not with the assent of Dr. Bode, one of the highest authorities on the subject—identified as Saskia, the much-loved wife of the master. The Duke of Buccleugh possesses a very similar, yet in the composition and working out, quite different "Jewish Bride" or "Saskia," dated 1633, which artistically may claim to take even higher rank. But the masterpiece of the earlier time, and one of the masterpieces of painting, is the wonderful "Danaë," which Dr. Bode, relying on the technique, dates as early as 1636. The unique strength and delicacy of the tone—the charming chord of color, composed of pallid flesh, silvery gray and infinite variety, and the greenish gold of a portentous *barocco* state-bed—the nervous vigor, combined with high finish, of the execution, make of the "Danaë" one of the greatest things in art. Rembrandt triumphs here, for once, not by any overwhelming pathos, not by any divining power laying bare the secrets of humanity, but purely and simply as a supreme master of the brush. No element in the picture, apart from the wonderful tone and color, is in itself beauty—certainly not the sickly and repellent Danaë, certainly not the wondrously contorted bed,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with its tasteless excess of ornamentation. Yet the outcome is that beauty which results from sovereign accomplishment, and it is of the kind that no lover of painting proper can or need resist. Another masterpiece of nearly the same time (1637) is the fanciful portrait once known as "John III. Sobieski, King of Poland," a designation which the date of the warrior-king's birth—1624—at once proves to be absurd; for this truculent personage is at least thirty-five. Instead of casting about us for some Polish *grand seigneur* whom to identify with the striking swash-buckler in theatrically splendid attire who here delights us, we should perhaps do well to look upon it as a fanciful study based to a certain extent upon the artist's own features, but in which he has not been desirous of letting the world recognize as a matter of course his portrait. The maturity of Rembrandt's second manner is splendidly illustrated by the "Portrait of an Old Man," No. 820 (1645), which was formerly, on too slender grounds, identified as that of his friend, the learned rabbi of Amsterdam, Manasseh-ben-Israel. The lofty pathos which the painter so naturally evolves from his representations of patient and dignified old age is in but few works of the middle or later time more finely or convincingly expressed than here. The splendid study, or fantasy, of an armed figure (1650), called "Pallas," is the finest example of this type of glorified studio-exercise, in which an adequate excuse has been sought and found for the rendering of darkly gleaming arms and armor of a specially picturesque type. This "Pallas" is of the same class as, yet infinitely superior to, the Glasgow "Achilles" (or "Portrait of a Warrior"), which is an undoubted original, yet in many ways a superficial example of Rembrandt's later style in bravura. No less than three pathetic portraits of the same old woman, once erroneously described as "The Mother of Rembrandt," belong to the exceptionally prolific year, 1654; they bear the numbers 804, 805 and 806 in the catalogue of 1895. Of exactly the same period is again the richly toned and expressive "Potiphar's Wife Accusing Joseph" (1654). This is inferior in some respects to the Berlin example of the repellent subject, which came from Sir John Neeld's collection, and dates from the succeeding year, 1655. The latter is, perhaps, Rembrandt's greatest achievement in the domain of profound, jewel-like color. There are considerable differences

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of design and expression between the two canvases. One of the most unusual and the most refined likenesses of women executed by the artist is the "Portrait of a Young Lady" (1656). A year or two anterior to these last-named pictures—Dr. Bode places it in or about the years 1650—is a sublime "Abraham Entertaining the Three Angels," one of those representations of biblical subjects which in their naïve simplicity, in their peculiarly human quality indefinably touched with the divine, are not to be paralleled outside the life-work of Rembrandt. Passing inevitably over a vast number of fine things of the later time, which, under other circumstances, would deserve careful examination, we come to the vast "Prodigal Son," which belongs to the painter's very last years, and well, if not with such absolute authority as is revealed in some other canvases of the same period, illustrates the width of view, the sympathetic power, the summarizing breadth of execution, of that moment. This most human and moving of subjects was only a less great favorite with Rembrandt than the "Good Samaritan" itself. It is through etchings and drawings, however, and much less through paintings, that he has in this particular instance expressed himself.

Elsewhere than in the Hermitage the representation of the greatest Netherlandish master of the seventeenth century, after Rembrandt—the reference is, of course, to Frans Hals—would appear more than adequate. In this collection, somehow, the Haarlem master, sharing with Rembrandt the same not very imposing gallery, makes but a feeble fight of it with his four canvases. The battle is, let it be borne in mind, not a fair one, and the great contemporaries must be more fairly matched before any comparison can be established—if, indeed, any master of the North, and of the same century, even this supreme craftsman, his contemporary, can for a moment be compared to Rembrandt.

CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

(To be continued.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED